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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2028

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#### NOTICE

Erratum: The series number of two issues of the EAST EUROPE REPORT: POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS require correction. The series number of JPRS 81133 of 25 June 1982 should read No. 2026 instead of No. 2023. The series number of JPRS 81186 of 1 July 1982 should read No. 2027 instead of No. 2024.

6 July 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2028

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CUKO SPEAKS AT TRADE UNION CONGRESS IN TIRANA

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 7 Jun 82 pp 1, 2

[Speech by Lenka Cuko, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers Party, Greets the 9th Congress of Trade Unions on Behalf of the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers Party]

[Text] Dear comrade delegates,

The entire Albanian people today live with your congress and attentively follow its work, because this is the congress of the heroic working class which stands on the forefront of the work and struggle for the construction of socialism and the defense of the homeland. On this occasion, on behalf of the Central Committee of the party and our beloved leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, personally, allow me to bring to you fiery revolutionary greetings and to wish good work and complete success to your congress.

The 9th Congress of the Trade Unions of Albania meets only a short time after the 8th congress of the party, which both in regard to the time it was held and the majestic program it adopted, marks an event of great importance for the whole life of the country.

It will enter the party's history as the congress of the rapid development of the socialist society relying entirely on our own efforts.

The historic decisions of the Eighth AWP Congress and the brilliant prospects that it has opened up to the country have generated new enthusiasm and optimism among the working masses. A new impetus has swept the working class, cooperativist peasantry, the people's intelligentsia, young people, women and all the people to implement the tasks set forth by the party to further strengthen the socialist order and to fulfill and overfulfill the tasks of the Seventh Five-Year Plan.

It is with this fervor, enthusiasm and determination characterizing our working class and all our working people, that you have come to this congress of the trade unions to have your responsible and weighty say in all matters pertaining to the country's life, to show your brilliant achievements, to criticize shortcomings and to exchange experiences in order to give a further impetus to the socialist construction in all fields.

The party has always highly evaluated the work of the trade unions, and has devoted special care to their development and strengthening as broad organizations of the working class and other working people of our country. In its relations with the trade unions the party has been guided by the teachings of great Lenin that, in the conditions of the socialist society and the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is the Communist Party which leads and directs as the conscious and organized vanguard of the working class, whereas the trade unions are its levers, which work and fight for the application of the line and directions of the party.

Socialism cannot be built with the forces of the party only, Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us. It is built by the masses, whereas the party leads them and makes them conscious. Hence the irreplaceable role of the trade unions and the other social organizations which link the party with the broad working masses, educate them in its spirit and line, and mobilize them to implement the directives and orientations of the party. Their role and responsibility grow and extend in proportion with the growth and extension of the activity of the party, with the growth and extension of its programs.

From their founding, the trade unions of Albania have continuously been orientated by, sought inspiration and found their strength in the leadership of the party, in its correct Marxist-Leninist line, in the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha. On this reliable road they have grown and tempered themselves continually, becoming militant and fighting organizations of the working class, capable of carrying out ever greater undertakings.

In our socialist society, the working class and the working masses, freed from capitalist oppression and exploitation, are the masters of the country. They take part actively in the discussion and solution of the problems of socioeconomic development, the drafting and application of the laws and the state plans, the organization and management of production, the development of education and culture, the strengthening of the defense, the supervision and control of the activity of the administration and management, and in the governing of the entire life of the country. This is a living and concrete expression of our socialist democracy, as genuine democracy for the broad working masses, a confirmation of the fact that the construction of socialism in Albania is the creative deed of the working class and all the working people.

It is the duty of the trade union to constantly raise and strengthen this decisive role of the masses in the construction of socialism, viewing it as a fundamental question of the communist world outlook and of revolutionary theory and practice, as a question that is directly related to the defense and consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The trade unions must be more persistent in ensuring that all the norms and practices intended to achieve the role of the working class and of the working masses be implemented to the last; they must oppose everything that contradicts the spirit and principles of socialism and the party's line and directives, mobilizing the working class and all the working people against bureaucratic and liberal distortions.

In this spirit the trade unions must also defend the rights of the working class sanctioned in the laws and embodied in the state plans, which are related to the improvement of working and living conditions, to the correct implementation of the labor code and of the state and social security laws, to the measures for technical security at work, to the social-cultural needs, supplies, health service and so forth.

In a true socialist society the interests of the working class are indivisible from those of the state, because this state expresses and protects the interests of the working people, because its entire policy and activity are interceded for the welfare of the people. If the state loses its proletarian features and is transformed into a dictatorship of the new bourgeoisie, as has occurred in the revisionist countries, fierce class conflicts are bound to emerge between the working people and the state which oppresses and exploits them. In these conditions, the working class finds other ways and means, goes on strikes and stages demonstrations, in order to defend its own interests. This, as Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out, shows clearly that the state power there is no longer in the hands of the workers, that the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism have degenerated. The trade unions of these countries have ceased to represent the interests of the workers and have become appendages of the bureaucratic apparatus of the bourgeoisie in order to beguile the working class and keep it in a state of submission.

When Lenin argued for the role and place of the trade unions in the conditions of socialism, he made it clear from the beginning that they are the school of communism, militant political organizations, which, under the leadership of the party, work and fight for the communist education of the working people. In our country has grown a new working class, educated with lofty revolutionary qualities and virtues, which has responded to the tasks of the party in a fiery patriotic spirit. The trade unions also have made their great and valuable contribution in these achievements.

But in the present conditions, the party demands from the trade unions that they constantly raise the level of their educational effort, both in substance and in form, in order to arm the working masses increasingly better with the communist world outlook and ideals, make them professionally proficient and equip them with a broad culture and lofty moral virtues. They must take special care of the education of the working class and other working masses with the spirit of the people's patriotism, the spirit of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the class struggle, that they may always remain consistent revolutionaries and resolute fighters for the cause of socialism and communism.

The trade unions must educate their numerous, loyal and devoted cadres and specialists trained by the party with the spirit of the working class, that they may always bear in mind that they can lead and successfully implement their tasks only through close reliance on the masses, with the spirit of the people's patriotism, and the spirit of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the class struggle, that they may always remain consistent revolutionaries and resolute fighters for the cause of socialism and communism.

The trade unions must educate their numerous, loyal and devoted cadres and specialists trained by the party with the spirit of the working class, that they may always bear in mind that they can lead and successfully implement their tasks only through close reliance on the masses and their innovative and revolutionary thinking. They must educate the cadres to be modest, honest and just, they must never become arrogant but remain at all times pupils of the people and, together with the people. They must work and struggle to build and defend socialism.

The work to implement the party's line and policy, to implement its tasks in all fields, the study and mastery of Marxism-Leninism, of the party's and Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings in the struggle against vestiges of the old ideologies and bourgeois and revisionist influences--all these have been and remain the most effective ways for the education of the cadres and the masses.

The trade unions must construct their work in such a way as to get as close as possible to the workers. This requires that the spiritual conditions of the masses, their demands and interests, which vary from one group to the next, should be well known, together with the degree of consciousness and the problems preoccupying the masses. Through their differentiated and qualified work, but also with tact and intelligence, the trade unions will further consolidate their links with the working class and all the working masses, they will better take to them the party's word and directives, they will play the role allotted to them by the party as schools for the revolutionary education and mobilization of the masses.

One of the main fields of the activity of the trade unions has been and remains that of production, the mobilization of the working class and all the other working people for the fulfillment of the economic state plan. We have entered now into the second year of the Seventh Five-Year Plan, during which industry will develop on a broad front and in all its branches, socialist agriculture will reach a new level of development, socialist relations will be further improved, education, culture and sciences will advance further forward, the moral figure of the new man of our society will be raised higher.

In the conditions when in the bourgeois and revisionist countries, unemployment increases from one year to the other, inflation rises continuously, the cost of living increases not every year but every month and every day, as a consequence of the deep economic crisis into which they have been steeped for many years now, the reality of socialist Albania which knows none of these phenomena, the perspectives the 8th congress of the party and the Seventh Five-Year Plan have opened, speak of the correctness of the line our party has always followed, the stability of our economy, the strength and vitality of the socialist order. Another evidence to this is also the decision of the Council of Ministers on the reduction of prices of several mass consumer goods and the reduction of payments of several public services. This new success is the fruit of the selfless work of the working class and the other working masses, is an expression of the care of the party and the socialist state for the raising of the wellbeing of the people.



This new plan is the first five-year plan which will be carried out relying entirely on our own forces and possibilities. It will be a great test for the party, the people and the working class. There is no doubt that this new test, like all the previous tests we have stood, will be overcome with success. This confidence we have built from the fact that the tasks of this plan are scientifically based and completely attainable, we build this confidence in the patriotism of our people, in their steel unity, their readiness and determination to cope with any difficulty in order to carry out any task.

As always, the working class will remain in the vanguard of the battles for the fulfillment of the tasks of the seventh 5-year period. Its efforts will be decisive. Hence the great and responsible tasks of the trade unions. They are required to make the working class conscious that the plans in industry, agriculture, construction, communications, the service sectors and everywhere else can be fulfilled successfully only with strong scientific and technical discipline at work, educational and professional training, the mobilization of the intellectual potential of specialists and scientists, the development of the innovative thinking of the working people and their revolutionary actions.

In their efforts to mobilize the working class in resolving production problems, the trade unions must cooperate and coordinate their work with the state and economic organs, just as the latter must rely more strongly on the trade unions, improve the organization and management of work and adopt technical, organizational and material measures to resolve production problems, to broaden the way for the initiative and creativity of the masses and to fulfill the state plan without fail.

The party is fully confident that in the struggles to come for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the Seventh Five-Year Plan, the working class, the working masses and their militant organization, the trade unions, will remain at the height of their tasks.

Comrades, our people, led by the party, are secure about the present and see their future with confidence and optimism. At the same time they do not forget that in Albania socialism is built in the conditions of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement and blockade and tense international situations, which continue to grow more complicated. The events that develop in the world and around us demonstrate that the imperialist superpowers and their allies, caught in the grip of the economic crisis and locked in fierce rivalry to expand their spheres of influence and to establish their domination in the world, have increased their pressure on the peoples, have stepped up interference in their internal affairs and have embarked on open military adventures. The hotbeds of local wars, the imperialists have kindled, have expanded, just as the imperialists' preparations for new aggressions and global war have increased.

In order to plunder the great wealth of the Middle East and to enslave its peoples, the United States of America as well as the Soviet Union have stepped up their interference, thus making the situation in this zone still

more dangerous. The situation is by no means less grave in Central America due to the brutal interferences of American imperialism, and in South America as a result of the British imperialist aggression against Argentina.

A turbulent and ominous situation continues around Afghanistan, where the Soviet social-imperialists have massed an entire army. The navies of the superpowers have infested the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean and the other seas with warships, thus creating new threats to the countries which have access to these waters. The armaments race and the trade of arms, as precursors of conflicts and aggressions instigated by imperialism, have assumed colossal proportions.

We must watch these situations carefully, understand them correctly and know how to orient ourselves. Their development, of course, does not depend on us, but they are connected with us in one way or another because they influence the life and work of our people and create difficulties and obstacles on the road of our socialist construction. The imperialists will never relinquish their hostile intentions against our country. They collaborate with their agents within the country to weaken and destroy the dictatorship of the proletariat in Albania, to take away from the people their socialist victories and to restore the capitalist yoke and imperialist diktat.

In these circumstances, our valiant and patriotic people maintain and sharpen their vigilance further, unite themselves ever more closely around the party, fight still more persistently for the strengthening of the economy and the all-round development of the country. The plans of the external and internal enemies against socialist Albania have suffered and will always suffer ignominious defeat confronted with the monolithic unity of our people, their determination to defend at the cost of any sacrifice the freedom and independence which they have won with blood, and the victories of our popular revolution. The strength and invincible character of our socialist homeland are founded on reliable factors: on the correct leadership of the party and its Marxist-Leninist line, on the lofty patriotism and revolutionary spirit, on the combat readiness of our entire people, on the strength and stability of our economy.

It is the task of the party, the trade unions and all its other levers to constantly strengthen these factors and to thus make socialist Albania stronger and more invincible.

Our party and socialist state have always followed a principled and consistent foreign policy which serves the defense of the lofty interests of our homeland, the cause of the revolution and the liberation of the peoples, the preservation of peace and build-up of security in the world.

Socialist Albania has always stoutly and irreconcilably opposed the superpowers and the other reactionary forces on every occasion and under any circumstances. It has fought resolutely and with all its forces against their hegemony-seeking and expansionist policy, their aggressive actions against the peoples.

Proceeding from the known principles of equality, noninterference in internal affairs, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity and mutual benefit, our country has striven to maintain normal relations with all those states which abide by these principles. We have been and are for normal relations of good neighborliness with the countries of the Balkans and the neighboring zone, for bilateral fruitful collaboration in fields of reciprocal interest, we have wanted and want to live in friendship with their peoples.

We have always pursued a similar policy toward neighboring Yugoslavia. But we cannot remain silent when we see that a savage policy of national oppression is pursued against our Albanian brothers in Yugoslavia. Theirs is a shortsighted policy and the sooner it is discontinued the better it will be for the peoples of Yugoslavia themselves. The demands of the population of Kosovo to eliminate inequality and economic backwardness, to develop their national education and culture, to preserve their traditions and customs, to achieve the status of the republic within the framework of the Yugoslav Federation, are just and reasonable.

The foreign policy of our party and state has made our country win the great sympathy of the peoples of the world and a well-deserved prestige in the international arena, as well as numerous friends and well-wishers in all the countries. This is the reason why our people give this policy their powerful backing and all-out support.

Comrades, the AWP Central Committee is confident that the proceedings of your ninth congress will strengthen the Albanian trade unions and raise their work to a higher level. Always guided and inspired by the party's and Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings, let us increase our mobilization at work, let us put all our efforts into fulfilling and overfulfilling the 1982 plan and the 5-year plan as a whole to make our socialist homeland stronger, more beautiful and more prosperous!

Long live our glorious AWP and the beloved leader of our party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha!

Long live the heroic working class!

Long live the Albanian trade unions!

Glory to Marxism-Leninism!

CSO: 2100/66

RITA MARKO ADDRESSES TRADE UNION CONGRESS

AU131625 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 7 Jun 82 pp 1-7

["Report on the Activity of the Central Council of the Albanian Trade Unions and the Tasks of the Trade Unions for the Implementation of the Decisions of the Eighth AWP Congress," delivered by Rita Marko at the Ninth Congress of Albanian Trade Unions in Tirana on 6 June]

[Text] Dear comrades, a fiery militant atmosphere created by the historic decisions of the Eighth AWP Congress prevails throughout the country. Its ideas have become an indivisible part of the entire activity of the working class and of the working masses which are working and struggling for their implementation with inexhaustible energy and militant spirit. The Ninth Congress of the Albanian Trade Unions is meeting in this brilliant internal situation and the working class and the working masses are coming to this congress following a period of effort, struggle, heroism and broad creative activity to further develop the revolution, build socialism and defend the country.

The Eighth AWP Congress was an event of great historic importance. Its decisions mark a new moment in the comprehensive development of our country on the road of socialism. It will remain in the history of our party and of our people as the congress of the rapid construction of socialism relying entirely on our own forces, the congress of the elevation of a scientific standard of production and management, of all-round intensification and of the increased effectiveness of the economy, of the further improvement in the well-being of the masses and of the constant strengthening of the party's leading role in all aspects of the country's life.

The report of the AWP Central Committee delivered at that congress by Comrade Enver Hoxha is a historic document of great theoretical and practical experience, a synthesis and scientific generalization of the glorious 40-year-old (?road) traversed by the party in its struggle for the triumph of the revolution and the construction of socialism. The report profoundly analyzes the great problems of the time and contains generalizations of national and international importance which represent new contributions in the theory and practice of socialism and in the enrichment of the strategy and tactics of the Marxist-Leninist and revolutionary movements of our time.

During the sixth 5-year period, too, our working class has again written glorious pages of heroism in the battles for the constant prosperity and strengthening of socialist Albania. Its lofty qualities: socialist patriotism, the spirit of sacrifice, its creative capability, courage and valor erupted with new vigor. Implementing the Marxist-Leninist principle of self-reliance in the conditions of the savage imperialist-revisionist blockade and encirclement and confronting and overcoming the difficulties created by the hostile and sabotaging activity of the Chinese revisionists, new and magnificent successes were attained which have further strengthened the stability of the socialist economy. The magnificent party-people unity was further tempered in struggle against the internal and external enemies. The leading role of the party and of the working class in every aspect of the country's life was further strengthened, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the alliance between the working class and cooperativist peasantry was further strengthened and our socialist democracy was further developed.

The road traversed by the trade unions under the party's leadership is rich in achievements. In the struggle to build socialism and to defend the country, the trade unions have made and continue to make a valuable contribution in educating the working class, in mobilizing it to fulfill the plan and in extending its participation in the country's administration, that it may remain firmly at the height of its historic mission. The party has appreciated highly the role played by the trade unions in all the victories attained in socialist Albania. Gathering in their ranks the working class and all other working people, the trade unions have been and remain important levers of the party.

Under the constant solicitude of the AWP Central Committee and Comrade Enver Hoxha, our organization has grown stronger, has raised its militant spirit and has successfully accomplished the important and responsible tasks set forth by the party. The entire path traversed by the Albanian trade unions and their revolutionary activity testify in practice that the source of our strength, the foundation of our successes lie in the party's leadership and in the consistent implementation of its correct Marxist-Leninist line.

Our country's working class finds embodied in the magnificent program approved by the Eighth AWP Congress its aspirations and radical political, economic and social interests. That is why the working class has unanimously and enthusiastically endorsed the great tasks arising from this congress and promises to the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha that it will always preserve its militant spirit aflame and will remain in the front line of the struggle for their implementation.

**The Fulfillment of the Seventh Five-Year Plan Requires the Mobilization of All Creative Energies of the Working Class**

The directives endorsed by the Eighth AWP Congress for the development of the socialist economy and culture are magnificent. The Seventh Five-Year Plan is a direct continuation of the attainments to date and marks a new and higher stage in the country's unchecked economic and social development on the road of socialism. "Our socialist economy," Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed at the

congress, "is entering the new 5-year period of its development stable, filled with dynamism and with great possibilities to further develop and expand social production and to increase its effectiveness in all directions."

The dimensions that social production, the national income, investments and constructions, exports and financial resources are expected to assume equal those of three or four 5-year periods taken together in 1950-70. Total social production is expected to increase 34-36 percent over the previous 5-year period, industrial production is expected to increase 36-38 percent and agricultural production 30-32 percent. About 750 important economic, social and cultural projects will be constructed. The well-being of the working people will be guaranteed and increased, purchasing power and real incomes will be increased, housing will be improved and all new manpower will be employed.

This sound situation and brilliant prospects are a clear reflection of the vitality and superiority of our socialist order over the decaying capitalist-revisionist order, which is gripped in the vise of a deep political, economic and social crisis, whose consequences fall on the shoulders of the proletariat and broad working masses. Stagnation, declining output, inflation, rising prices and taxes, insecurity and misery, declining living standards and the decadence of moral values--this is the picture of the bourgeois-revisionist world.

The decision of the Council of Ministers to reduce the retail price of a number of mass consumer commodities and of communal service tariffs, which was made known on the eve of our congress, filled our working class and all the Albanian people with joy. This is another great success of the policy and correct Marxist-Leninist line of our party and a reflection of the strengthening of the economy and of the unstinting efforts of the working class, the cooperativist peasantry and the people's intelligentsia to increase production, raise labor productivity, reduce costs and improve quality.

Everything in socialist Albania is done for the good of the working people. The working class and other working masses will respond to the decision of the Council of Ministers with even greater impetus and mobilization at work, with even higher results in all fields of the country's socialist construction.

The attainment of the objectives of the Seventh Five-Year Plan requires that we should struggle with all our energies and frontally fulfill all tasks relying on our own efforts. This principle has always been at the foundation of our party's policy. However, bearing in mind the concrete situations in which we are working and building socialism, that is, without any aid or credits from outside, and bearing in mind also the conditions of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement, this principle presently assumes particular importance and must guide us in our daily activity in all sectors.

The fulfillment of the plan by every collective under all its headings and in all its indicators is the most concrete reflection of the comprehension and implementation of the principle of self-reliance. This is also proved by the attainments of 1981, when the industrial output was fulfilled and overfulfilled, compared with 1980, at an annual growth rate of 7-8 percent, with the respective rate for agriculture being 7 percent. The tasks set out for transportation, labor productivity in industry and construction and cost reductions were overfulfilled, while the accumulation resources were achieved according to plan. A visible elevation has been observed in the first 5 months of the current year, and this is reflected in the improved fulfillment of plans by all sectors and branches of the economy. Many enterprises have overfulfilled almost all its indicators. The people have been better supplied with necessary industrial and agricultural products. The workers of the "Enver Hoxha" tractor and automobile combine, of the "Steel of the Party" metallurgical combine, the construction workers of the Koman hydroelectric power plant, the oil industry of the Marinez field, the miners of Memaliaj and Kalimash, the workers of the "Gogo Nushi" plant in Fier, of the copper wire plant in Shkoder, of the Maliq and Lukove state farms, and many others, have been in the vanguard.

The successes attained increase our confidence that the tasks confronting us are fully feasible. Where must the trade unions concentrate their attention more?

Our country is developing on the basis of a single state plan. Every non-fulfillment in particular sectors or under particular headings or indicators has consequences for the entire economy. From this viewpoint, manifestations of globalism constitute a great obstacle to the rhythmic fulfillment of plans. It is the duty of the trade unions to persuade everyone of this matter that they may understand the damage caused by the failure to fulfill plans in all their indicators. The workers in the engineering industry must center their attention better not only on the fulfillment of plans in terms of value, but also with regard to the quantity, quality and variety of spare parts for agricultural machinery and on the production of machinery and equipment for new projects. This applies also to some factories of the light and food industry producing mass consumer commodities, as well as some other enterprises and sectors where the plans have not been fulfilled in all their economic and financial indicators, headings and variety of production.

We are also confronted with manifestations of globalism in the field of commodity distribution where there is nonfulfillment although production plans have been overfulfilled. This becomes an obstacle to the rhythmic fulfillment of plans by other enterprises due to a lack of supplies. Transportation also frequently becomes an obstacle, failing to meet all contracts and to deliver on time owing to weaknesses in organization, loading and unloading operations and the rational utilization of vehicles. This shows that the idea that plans must be fulfilled by everyone and in all indicators has not been implanted deeply enough in some working people. In these cases, the work of the trade union organizations also suffers from globalism and formalism. It has not been properly concentrated where most needed and where the difficulties are greater.

Our economy has assumed large dimensions, it has become more complex, specialization and concentration have developed and the division of labor has been deepened. Under these conditions, cooperation between enterprises, sectors and branches of the economy assumes particular importance. A great effort has been made in this direction. The construction of numerous new projects such as that of the second furnace [at the Elbasan metallurgical combine], the sugar combine in Maliq, the construction of new mineral enrichment plants, and so forth--all this is a result of such cooperation. However, manifestations of sectoral and departmental spirit and narrow handicraft concepts are still being observed among some enterprise managers and executive council and department heads who, in some cases, fail to understand the importance and need to cooperate to resolve the great problems confronting our developed economy.

The construction of large projects through our own efforts, the reconstruction of numerous enterprises and the introduction of new technical and technological processes cannot be achieved without broad cooperation. These are stipulated in the plans, but what is important is that the tasks of cooperation be implemented precisely and on time, combating the weaknesses and shortcomings observed in meeting contracts. There is also room for improvement in planning in this field. Numerous initiatives are undertaken in the process of fulfilling the plans and these must be better supported with the material base needed and through cooperation. This requires that the problem be properly grasped politically from the viewpoint of the general interest of the economy and not from the narrow shell of the enterprise. The Eighth AWP Congress stressed that the fulfillment of the tasks stipulated in the single and general state plan require that we must struggle side by side, with strong socialist solidarity, in close cooperation and collaboration with each other.

The further independent development of our economy and our progress require that we should center our attention more on some vital key sectors of the economy. One of these is the oil industry, which constitutes great wealth for our country. Its development shows the correctness of the party's line and its great solicitude in strengthening the country's energy base. Our oil workers have always been tireless and are distinguished for their spirit of sacrifice, determination and boldness at work. However, particularly in the present conditions of the world energy crisis, they are required to provide more oil and gas to the homeland. To achieve this, it is essential to further strengthen technical, scientific and labor discipline, to improve extraction methods and to utilize the material-technical base. It is the duty of our organizations in this important sector of the economy to raise revolutionary pride in every worker, to generalize and disseminate the advanced experience that is to be found everywhere, as in the Marinez extraction enterprise, which is an example of the rhythmic fulfillment of plans under all headings and in all indicators, as well as the experience of the rapid drilling teams.

One of the vanguard units of the working class works in the extractive and processing industry, bearing a very heavy burden in the development of our economy. It provides the homeland with chrome, copper, iron-nickel, coal,



steels and a number of other very essential products for the consolidation of our multibranch industry. Numerous problems are confronting the working people of this sector in the new 5-year period. The present stage of development requires the adoption of new extraction methods and systems of exploitation, the degree of mechanization must be raised, quality must be improved, losses reduced and more minerals must be processed in the country. All this will be achieved through a considerable elevation in the educational, cultural and vocational standard of the working people, by strengthening proletarian discipline and the sense of responsibility and by cultivating love for the honorable profession of miner, metallurgist and geologist. The trade union organizations must center their attention more on these problems.

The problems pertaining to exports assume particular importance in present conditions to ensure that imports are fully covered. This is one field in which the country and the economy clash directly with the capitalist-revisionist world, the pressures and influences of its financial and economic crisis, and in which the enemies are mostly trying to hinder and sabotage the development of our socialist economy.

It is up to the trade union organizations to make the working people conscious of the fact that without exports there are no imports and that this requires new ways to be found to increase exports, to achieve a considerable improvement in quality, packaging, labeling and to reduce costs. To fight for the good name of our trademark is a matter of honor. We can penetrate foreign markets only through high quality. The tireless workers of the Ballsh oil refinery, of the Berat textile combine, of the Korce carpet factory and of the Shkoder cigarette factory are rhythmically fulfilling their export plans, are producing goods of high quality, and their products are in demand in foreign markets. Their example must stimulate all those collectives working for exports. We must fight in the same spirit to economize and replace all those commodities that weigh heavily in our imports, such as coking coals, various types of steels, chemical products, cotton and so forth.

The Seventh Five-Year Plan has anticipated high increases in construction. Investments equivalent to those for 10 projects the size of the "Stalin" textile combine will be made for the Koman hydropower plant alone. Our homeland has become a great construction site. Our construction and assembly workers have taken a number of initiatives to further advance work. During the first 5 months they have established a healthy basis from which to fulfill this year's plan. Distinguished in the fulfillment of plans are the construction workers of the Koman hydropower plant, the railroads, metallurgical combines, housing and others.

Let us further advance this spirit of mobilization. Let us struggle everywhere to complete projects on time and with high quality and low costs. Mechanization should be furthered to lighten the work load and to raise productivity. It is not justified for some construction enterprises not to realize their tasks because of deficiencies in domestic materials such as stone, bricks, gravel and cement. The trade union organizations and

construction workers should more seriously engage themselves in activity to minimize weaknesses which are noticed, and they should mobilize themselves with all their energies to fulfill the plan.

We have great tasks for the intensive development of the economy and for raising production's effectiveness in all sectors. Problems such as fully utilizing the productive capacities, raising work productivity, increasing socialist accumulation and profitability, lowering costs and production's expenditure, improving quality and others, are in the hands of the working class and the other working masses.

Our country today has a powerful material and technical base. It has increased 25 times within three decades. Its effective utilization is one of the greatest tasks set in this five-year plan. The reserves in this field are great. If the coefficient of the use of tractors is raised only 10 percent, something which is totally feasible, a volume of work equal to that of Lushnje and Fier machinery and tractor stations will be accomplished. Increasing the coefficient of the use of vehicles attached to the Ministry of Communications by only 2 percent is equivalent to the work of more than 100 trucks. If the mechanical plants achieved a utilization of steel on the same scale as the "Enver Hoxha" tractor combine, then this would result in the economy saving some thousands of tons of steel.

The utilization of these possibilities is a great reserve for realizing the plan. The trade union organizations have the task of better moving on the progressive ideas of workers and specialists to fully utilize the material-technical base we have, and to resolutely struggle against tendencies noticed in some to remain within and to hold reserves in utilizing the productive capacities and in norms of material use.

The whole development of our economy relies on internal accumulation. Thus, alongside other problems related to this major issue, a serious problem is also getting enterprises which have losses out of their backwardness. Workers, trade union organizations and directing organs of some agricultural, fishing, construction, transport and other enterprises should be more pre-occupied and should work better to perfect organization and management, to vitalize the economic-financial situation so that they can be changed from enterprises which suck accumulation into profitable enterprises.

Comrade Enver teaches us that qualitative and highly productive work is a decisive factor to ensure the growth of production's effectiveness and to further advance the whole economy. Many tasks result from this. Everywhere we work and produce there is room to strengthen organization, order and discipline, so that work time can be better utilized, productivity can be continually raised, accumulation increased, costs lowered and savings made.

It is not justified that enterprises of the same sector with the same technology and technical equipment should have differences in productivity and quality. It is not acceptable that factories and others of shoes should have a productivity nearly 2 times lower than that of Korce. The secret here lies in conscientious, disciplined and qualified work based on good organization.

Organization is a powerful means by which to advance production and create possibilities to effectively use means, funds, materials and others. Vlore's polyvinyl chloride plant raised itself from its backwardness because, besides ideopolitical work with people, radical measures to perfect organization and management were taken. This was made possible with the active participation of workers and specialists; many incorrect concepts were overcome, optimism was raised and discipline and accounting demands were strengthened.

The problems of socialist organization of work are complex. They are related to the good preparation of work places, regular material-technical supplies, employment of people according to their qualifications, organization and concentration of production according to technological similarities and so forth. These are tasks not only for enterprise directors but also for trade union organizations and all workers. Without these we cannot speak of productivity and effectiveness.

The Eighth AWP Congress has set great objectives for agricultural workers. They are related to the continually better securing of people's food, of raw materials for the food and light industry, increasing exports and others. These tasks will be accomplished through intensification; 90 percent of the increase in general agricultural production will be secured through raising productivity of crops and livestock production.

Fulfilling these great tasks requires tireless work, knowledge and perfected organization by all agricultural workers. The agricultural enterprises should stand in the vanguard and become examples for the cooperatives. It is the task of the workers, specialists and directors of these enterprises to show the way to modern agricultural development by integrating their mobilization with the implementation of scientific knowledge. Today we have many agricultural enterprises, such as those of Maliq, Vrine, and the "17 November" enterprise, which get 48 quintals of wheat per hectare, 72 quintals of corn per hectare, 455 quintals of sugar beets, about 4,000 liters of milk per cow and others. Their example can and should be followed by others. This is also a major objective for the trade union organizations' activity in agricultural enterprises. But to achieve this, it is necessary to minimize the weaknesses and defects which exist, and to work everywhere conscientiously and with discipline, to implement high agrotechnology, to properly utilize the material and technical base, and to widely spread progressive experience especially in the zones of higher intensification.

The working class has always tied its struggle and work for the construction and defense of socialism to its loyal ally, the cooperativist peasantry. This has always been expressed in class solidarity and mutual help for the simultaneous development of industry and agriculture, of the city and countryside, and all zones and regions in our country. The magnificent program which the Eighth AWP Congress approved will further narrow the differences between the city and countryside, and will make our socialist countryside more prosperous.

These objectives will be achieved through the work and effort of the cooperativist peasantry. But an important role will also be played by the working

class through fulfilling the plan's tasks on their own work front, strengthening the ties between industry, agriculture and all other branches and sectors of the economy, and also by giving, as always, their own example in fulfilling tasks. This will also be an important front for the care and work of the trade union organizations and organs. Thus, it is required that they make workers in industry, construction, transport, services and others, conscientious to ensure the necessary means of production, on time, for an intensive agriculture and for the realization of investments and productive communal and vital services in the countryside. Working in this way, we can correctly implement the party's slogan: "Agriculture--a matter of all the people."

The trade unions should be more concerned with further perfecting socialist relations in production. These are related to vitally important fields such as relations of property, distribution, economic management and exchange. They are even more considerable because they are concerned with relations between people and their interests. Greater study and concern for social aspects which are related to them will help us strengthen the positive tendencies of their development, and also to know and prevent negative aspects in time.

During the last five-year plan the party and state devoted great attention to the problems of work organization and remuneration, as vitally important issues of economic development and of the workers' lives. Perfecting work norms is important in this sphere. Many improvements have been made with the active participation of the working class. Today 89 percent of the workers are governed by norms, and work time governed by technical norms has reached about 70 percent, while these indexes were 81 and 57 percent respectively at the previous congress. The average realization of norms is 101 percent and in many work processes they have been revised and replaced with new progressive norms.

An important problem in this field today is the establishment everywhere of well-studied norms on a scientific basis. This is in the interest of society and the workers themselves. It is not at all normal for 30-40 percent of work governed by norms to be taken up by statistical norms. This type of norm hides important reserves, does not comply with the growth of work productivity, impairs the defined ratios of workers' wages and inspires petit-bourgeois tendencies to take more from society than is given to it.

It is the task of the trade unions to more strongly support initiatives to extend technical norms at work, especially in the metallurgical and timber industry, and the communications, communal and other enterprises, where technical norms hold only 47-53 percent of work which is governed by norms. Also serving this aim is the dissemination of advanced experience of the Korce "Petro Papi" instruments plant where over 90 percent of workers are under technical norms, and where the technical-economic indexes are higher than in other enterprises of the mechanical industry; or the experience of the "Stalin" textile combine, which has higher norm standards than other enterprises with similar conditions. Not only norm setters should be concerned with this very important issue, as happens sometimes, but everyone--

directors, specialists and technicians--and they should take responsibility. No delay or lack of concern can be accepted in this, because technical norms are a great force by which to organize workers around the most progressive class elements.

We have great tasks in the revision of norms. They are not unchangeable, because technology and organization are continually improved and the workers' qualifications are continually raised. But the norms cannot be changed according to one or the other's wishes. They are revised according to the rules on the basis of studies within a defined time, when plans are drafted, and always by discussing them with workers. The departments have obligations to be more seriously concerned with the unification of work norms, setting technical norms of work time for all production units which have the same conditions, on a departmental scale.

The realization of norms by all workers is a problem which requires more attention by the trade unions and the state and economic organs. Special work must be done with young workers to raise their qualifications and consciousness and to revitalize their pride in doing the best work. They must be closely helped to assimilate work practices more quickly. The enterprise administrations also have important tasks in strengthening work organization, securing tools, regularly supplying raw and other materials, ensuring workers' transportation and better distributing them in work places according to their qualifications.

The clear prospects which the Eighth AWP Congress opened have created a high revolutionary optimism, have increased enthusiasm and have given a new impetus to socialist emulation. The Koman construction workers will put two, rather than one, turbines into work within the five-year plan; the Valias workers' initiative was answered by miners throughout the whole country by giving about 25,000 tons of minerals above the 5-month plan; the initiative of the Elbasan metallurgists has been turned into a powerful movement in the whole country to save electrical energy, fuels, steel and other materials. Working according to the initiative of the Guri i Kuq miners, new records have been established in mining works of up to 500 gallery meters per month. Today hundreds of drivers and tractor drivers are working for future five-year plans and whole livestock complexes work to obtain 4,000-6,000 liters of milk per cow. Through voluntary work kilometers of canals are opened, reservoirs are constructed, new houses are built, the environment is beautified and agriculture and the villages are helped. This is the massive heroism which gives a new force and content to socialist emulation, which raises all of the working class and workers to realize and overfulfill the economic plans.

These distinguished characteristics of socialist emulation must be intensified and further advanced. Emphasis must be placed on the base, brigade, sector, unit and enterprise where the fate of production is established, and we must achieve bringing all workers into this race. The plan's qualitative indexes should be better placed at the center of socialist emulation, and a serious attitude toward indexes should always be maintained. This aim should be served by comparing results and holding discussions as a powerful

means to know and disseminate advanced experience, to discover and minimize defects, to struggle against bureaucratic delays and hindrances and also manifestations of euphoria and self-satisfaction.

Today more than ever agile and lively work should be done with people in various forms, and through widely and intelligently using moral stimuli to encourage them and raise mobilization for fulfilling tasks everywhere. Every worker in his place of work should be led each day by Comrade Enver Hoxha's suggestion that he should "work with great drive and emulation, with highly responsible feelings, strong proletarian discipline, productivity, quality and the spirit of thrift."

#### The Intensification of the Technical-Scientific Revolution and the Qualification of Workers--A Necessary Condition To Further Advance Production

The economy's intensive development in the Seventh Five-Year Plan makes it urgently necessary to further intensify the technical-scientific revolution and to raise the workers' educational and technical-professional standard. The present achievements by our wonderful people trained by the party are a powerful base for this. They have designed and constructed many projects from roads, railroads, plants, factories, mines and up to the powerful hydropower plants. They have improved technology and equipment. They have introduced progressive science and agrotechnology in agriculture. They have achieved important successes in all sectors.

The Central Council and other directing organs of the trade unions should pay attention to many problems of the present stage of development of the technical-scientific revolution. First, it is necessary to further increase the masses' participation in it, so that science and technology do not remain the monopoly of certain persons or institutions. Today we have about 150,000 secondary-educated specialists, over 40,000 highly educated specialists and thousands of talented workers and innovators. This is a great force which should be put into motion. Only in this way can science and technology develop and be implemented everywhere we work and produce.

A vital expression of the masses' participation in the technical-scientific revolution is innovation, which has been turned into a powerful movement to bring about considerable changes to technology, equipment, production and organization; to find new ways to rationally utilize raw materials, and to improve the plan's technical-economic indexes.

The creative spirit, the physical and mental abilities of our innovators and technicians have been expressed in the solution of many problems. During the previous five-year plan over 60,000 proposals were put into practice, 964 production lines, units and factories were raised and about 49,000 new articles were produced. Many working collectives have greatly contributed to the achievement of these successes. Thousands of talented innovators have been raised and educated in the heart of these collectives, and they have put all their creative energies to the service of our socialist homeland's progress and prosperity.

This new drive which innovation has gained, which, as Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, has become a new trait of our time, should be further advanced. The trade union organizations have the task of paying more attention to the innovation movement and to bringing into it many workers, specialists, young people and women in all sectors and branches.

It is our duty, without underrating the smaller innovations, to better mobilize the creative thinking of the masses in those directions which bring big changes and help in implementing the tasks set out by the Eighth AWP Congress. The involvement of the workers and specialists in improving technological processes and the precise implementation of technical and scientific discipline on their part have been and remain a very important task of the trade unions. The establishment of new lines, units and factories, increased productivity, a considerable improvement in quality, thrift, the rational utilization of machinery, the elimination of waste and defects are important directions on which the innovation movement must direct its attention.

High rates of production growth dictate the need for the complex mechanization of working processes, particularly in sectors like mining, construction, the exploitation of forests, the agricultural and livestock sectors and in those enterprises where artisan methods still prevail. Let us not forget for one single moment that the development of the technical and scientific revolution in socialism serves simultaneously to lighten the work of man and enrich work with more elements of creative mental work. This means that we must see not only the economic side, profitability, in the process of deepening the technical-scientific revolution, but also the other side, the humanitarian and human side.

It is an anachronism that handbarrows are still used in some construction enterprises, that plastering is done by hand and that foundations are dug by hand, at a time when there are great possibilities to use transporters, cranes and plastering pumps. There are just as many possibilities for using cable cars to transport timber in forestry enterprises. Possibilities to increase the use of machinery exist everywhere. All that is needed is a proper understanding and concrete action. The very rapid mechanization of mines at Guri i Kup, Prrenjas, Bulqize and Gjegjan is an example of this.

The trade unions are confronted with the task of further improving their work in listening to and respecting the voice of the masses and of combating bureaucratic procrastinations hindering the implementation of the working class initiatives. This must be done not only in words, but through concrete support of such initiatives by management and departments with the required material and technical base and better organized cooperation, because this helps to advance plans and improve its indicators. The plan must therefore not be considered "taboo," and be used as a pretext to check the revolutionary and innovatory drive of the masses. The difficulties arising must be overcome with persistent efforts and struggle, and by joining and coordinating forces. The further education and qualification of the workers is an essential requirement in further deepening the technical-scientific revolution and in increasing production. Good results have been

attained in this direction with the party's constant solicitude. Compared with 1975 the number of workers with higher and secondary education has doubled, and the number of qualified workers has risen 1.7 times.

Both the need for knowledge and culture is being increasingly felt. The Eighth AWP Congress stressed that our society requires people with broad knowledge and cultural horizon, qualified and competent people capable of leading and organizing, people who are passionate scholars and creators. These requirements constitute a very important front in the activity of the trade unions.

There are still shortcomings in the technical and vocational training of workers. There is formalism in a number of qualification courses, there is insufficient planning, and the benefits are small. Concessions are being made in the degree of qualification and the latter is not always closely related to results at work. There is still insufficient interest by departments, enterprise managers and trade union organizations for the technical and vocational education of the working people, particularly where a high degree of qualification is required and in new enterprises.

It is important to arouse among working people a desire to learn and to qualify, not to assure a higher work category or higher wages, but in order to gain more knowledge and to be able to carry out one's tasks better. Particular solicitude must be shown to young workers and women, because the standard of their qualification is also relatively lower.

Qualification requires particular attention. There are at times manifestations of subjectivism, liberalism and concessions. In order to eliminate these shortcomings, it would be well to carry out the process of qualification in two stages. After being tested by the qualification commission, the worker should work for a period of time to show in practice whether he meets the requirements of the respective degree of qualification or not. It would also be right to lower the degree of qualification of a worker who fails to justify his degree of qualification, fails to carry out his tasks, produces goods of poor quality, fails to maintain the machinery and so forth.

The schools are a strong and irreplaceable base for qualification and education. The schools and the teachers perform an important task and play a particular role in our society. The Eighth AWP Congress appreciated them highly and set out new tasks to further revolutionize the schools. The qualitative elevation of the work done in our schools has become an absolute necessity today and is a problem pertaining to all. The teachers, students, parents, education organs, mass organizations and our entire society are interested in this.

For the schools to better accomplish their mission in training the young generation with profound technical and scientific knowledge, to cope with work and production problems, and to serve the country's all-round progress, the party demands that the standard of the education and work of teachers be further raised, and teaching methods be radically improved. There can be no talk of a qualitative elevation of the work in our schools without this. The



problem is more acute in the full time schools. Despite all their efforts, the education trade unions do not dwell on these matters deeply enough, they fail to analyze and discuss them. The ideopolitical education of teachers, their qualification, the exchange of advanced experience, the stimulation of pride and competition in schools, the establishment of close links with the family, with enterprises, the struggle against alien manifestations like making concessions, interventions for better grades and so forth--all of these are direct tasks of the trade union organizations. The working people themselves must also better understand the importance of schools and benefit as much as possible from them, because without education it is impossible to progress and to successfully meet the tasks with which we are being confronted.

#### The Ideopolitical Education of the Workers in the Spirit of Socialism--A Responsible Task of the Trade Unions

Under the party's leadership, a working class imbued with communist ideology and virtues has been formed in our country. The trade unions have considered the all-round education of the workers as their fundamental task, and have linked it closely with life and with the effort and struggle to build socialism at all stages of development. Currently, however, when the Eighth AWP Congress has stipulated new and even greater tasks for the country's socioeconomic development at a fast pace, the trade unions are required to raise their work for the ideopolitical education of the workers to a higher level. "The party," Comrade Enver Hoxha said at the congress, "has entrusted the trade unions with great tasks for the ideopolitical, technical and vocational education of the working class, to make it better able to successfully carry out its tasks not only in the field of production, but in all other fields pertaining to the country's life, to participate actively in the administration of state and social work, and to exercise its control as the class in power everywhere and over everyone."

As a result of its experience, the working class is convinced that socialism alone assures it freedom, independence and well-being. But in conditions where the imperialist and revisionist enemies have directed all their attacks against socialism, the question is raised that these beliefs be further strengthened.

Life and our socialist reality itself, the active participation of the working class in the country's revolutionary transformation, play a great role in the creation of the ideological beliefs of the working people. But this is not enough. As the party teaches us, such beliefs may vacillate in the face of various difficulties encountered in the course of socialist construction or in the face of the great pressure of the capitalist and revisionist world, if they do not rest on a firm theoretical base. Profound and firm ideological beliefs are created by mastering Marxism-Leninism and the teachings of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha. The trade unions have worked and continue to work to imbue and temper their members as staunch fighters for the great cause of socialism and the revolution. Comrade Enver's major works like "Imperialism and the Revolution," "Notes on China," "Yugoslav Self-Management--La Capitalist Theory and Practice," "Eurocommunism Is

Anticommunism," "With Stalin," "The Khrushchevites," "When the Party Was Born," "The Anglo-American Danger to Albania," and others, have served the class and revolutionary education of our working people.

Our entire activity is currently centered on mastering the great ideas of the Eighth AWP Congress so that the working class may increasingly better understand its role as the class in power, that it may profoundly master and implement the party's line, that it may live with the situations and understand the dangers threatening our country as a result of the pressure exerted by the bourgeois-revisionist world, that it may sharpen its vigilance and remain at all times in the frontline of the construction and defense of the victories of socialism. All this has raised the political consciousness and militant spirit of the working class and of the working masses, which we see materialized in the fulfillment of tasks better than ever before.

We have at our disposal an entire system of working class education to raise its ideopolitical standard: schools and courses to train worker activists, books, the press and other propaganda media. The libraries, various cultural and artistic institutions, the amateur movement and so forth--all these serve this purpose. It is our task to improve all of them, make them more lively, more interesting and more attractive. The demands of people today are higher. Our organizations must bear this in mind throughout their activity. Serious thinking must be devoted to the quality of our educational work and to the cultural work with the masses. The forms of education should become more interesting, more people should be encouraged to visit the library, to read books, to make the most of entertainment evenings, to participate in excursions, to meet and talk with writers, scientists, veterans and so forth. From this viewpoint, the amateur artistic movement, too, which includes tens of thousands of workers, must be raised to a higher level and consolidate its ideological substance and artistic standard. The great problems of the times must be placed at the center of attention, and campaign-like attitudes in this field must be eliminated.

The development of physical culture and sports is also an integral part of education. Marches, excursions and games have entered the life of the working class. A profound understanding of the importance of physical culture for the health of the working people, increased production and the strengthening of defense is still lacking, however. The extension of the physical culture and sports movement and its further elevation must draw the attention of our organization even more, activities must take place everywhere and everyone must engage in sports.

It is necessary to closely link our education work with life, to make it more specific and effective. We must relinquish the phraseology and formalism that is observed. We must always bear in mind the internal and external political, economic, ideological and moral factors, as well as the varied demands, levels of consciousness and psychological make-up. The effort to create firm beliefs in socialism is not abstract. This effort is made and achieved on concrete terrain and through varied and agile forms, in a manner that is differentiated in accordance with the requirements of various sectors, categories, age groups, sex and individuals.

The ranks of the working class grow annually. The youth are the future of the working class. We must bear this well in mind throughout our activity. We must not consider this as a problem pertaining to the youth organization alone. We must remain close to the young people, with solicitude and warmth, that they may know the past, that they may be proud of the struggle and sacrifices of the people, and of the working class under the party's leadership, to build the new Albania. It is our duty to work continually to educate the youth in the spirit of the class, to constantly raise their technical and vocational knowledge, to continually raise their readiness to participate enthusiastically and unsparingly in all socioeconomic transformations taking place in the country.

Almost half the working class and half the members of our organization are women and young girls, and they represent the majority of the collective in numerous enterprises. They thus represent a great force in the struggle to fulfill the tasks set out by the party. Women have their own specific problems not only as workers, but also as mothers and educators of the young generation. Many of them have not yet attained the required educational and vocational standards. Our organizations must deal with these problems more concretely, coordinating their work with those of the Albanian Women's Union. Let us work on the basis of the successes achieved and of the new socioeconomic conditions created under the party's leadership, to constantly promote the general and complete emancipation of women in our country.

The education of workers living in the countryside deserves particular attention. They are working in the most important and difficult sectors of the economy, and are distinguished by their modesty, spirit of sacrifice, hardness in the face of difficulties and so forth. But it is also among this category of workers that most cases of absenteeism, nonfulfillment of norms and shortcomings in the utilization of advanced technologies are observed. Knowing these characteristics and shortcomings, the trade union organizations must carry out a more intelligent effort to implant more deeply a socialist psychology of property and work, and further elevate their class consciousness and vocational abilities.

A more qualified effort must be made for the education of the working people in the service sectors, who are in daily contact with the people and serve them tirelessly. It is necessary to bear in mind that the workers in these sectors are spread out, and that the nature of their work does not have the same positive influence that it has in factories and plants, that they are more exposed to the influences of petty bourgeois psychology and so forth. It is therefore necessary to find varied forms of work, both collective and individual, to make their education more effective in the struggle against cases of preferential treatment, of the private exercise of their trade, neglect of common property and so forth.

Throughout their educational work the trade unions always consider the fact that the capitalist-revisionist world exerts an all-round economic, political, ideological and military pressure on our country, which is closely interwoven also with the activity of the internal enemies. Their intention is to liquidate socialist Albania and its victories, because it confronts them and

unmasks the aggressive plans and actions of the imperialists, social imperialists and world reaction, and because it defends the great cause of the revolution and socialism.

The education of the workers in the spirit of the class struggle to constantly strengthen the unity between the party and people, to sharpen their revolutionary watchfulness and to increase their readiness to defend the people's regime and the victories of the revolution against all enemies, assumes particular importance. In these conditions, it is necessary to give priority to direct work with people, so that they may daily live closely with the internal and external situations, are not static, but develop and change. Every worker must view his tasks as being closely linked with these situations and fulfill these tasks responsibly at the place where he works. Let us strengthen our internal front through our common effort, and make socialist Albania stronger and more invincible.

The attitude toward work and socialist property, which are the two great pillars supporting the development of the economy and every aspect of the country's life, its present and its future, is a reflection of the high degree of consciousness of our people. An entire revolution has taken place in the psychology of work and property, which is reflected in the massive heroism of our people and in their readiness to confront all difficulties and overcome all obstacles.

Numerous and inspiring examples of people working with lofty discipline and consciousness wherever the country needs them, endangering their own lives to protect socialist property, are to be found everywhere. The members of the "Qemal Stafa" brigade faced the waters of the river Drin and saved the drilling equipment and other machinery. The snow and storm did not frighten the shepherders of the "Vlora" state agricultural enterprise, who saved their herds. The lumberjacks and the cooperativists joined hands in Bulshar, Mirdite District, to save the forest from fire. These lofty attitudes toward work and property must be better used by the trade union organizations to educate their members and to strengthen their consciousness, because daily heroism is needed now more than ever to fulfill tasks, to protect machinery, to save raw and other materials, to produce goods of high quality and so forth.

At the same time, manifestations of petty bourgeois psychology must not be underrated. They are observed in cases of violations of discipline, failure to obey time schedules, particularly in the second and third shifts, the inclination to seek light work, the production of poor quality goods, damage to socialist property and so forth. This happens among those workers who are inclined toward their own self-interest, who see their work primarily as a means of earning money and fail to see that unless one gives first to society, unless the country and the economy are strong, personal incomes and needs cannot be met either. The trade union organizations must delve more deeply and must analyze and study these matters. They must uncover the driving motives and inclinations, and must prevent them by making the working people fully conscious that on the basis of the socialist principle of distribution according to work done they are working for themselves as well

as for society. In our country the general interest is not contrary to personal interest.

The work of the trade unions for the education of the workers must also be intensified in the direction of the struggle against the influences of bourgeois and revisionist influences, which have a tendency to make their appearance where they are underrated, where their danger is forgotten. Greater attention must be paid to preventing unworthy behavior in the family and society, to alien manifestations in the way of life and aesthetic taste, to incorrect attitudes toward women and so forth. The new socialist norms are affirmed in the struggle against vestiges of the past and alien bourgeois-revisionist influences. Debates must seethe in the organization and conclusions must be drawn, the spirit of great actions and ideological movements for the class and revolutionary education of members must be kept alive at all times.

It is a permanent task of the trade union organizations to carry out a qualified effort of clarification and persuasion in order to make people conscious about every problem and all situations. It is important that public opinion be raised to a higher level, and that the great force of the collective be better used in the struggle against justifications, sentimentalism and the spirit of concessions. The effectiveness of this effort is further increased when the workers themselves enjoy such conditions of organization, control and account-rendering that constitute a barrier to alien manifestations. The implementation of labor discipline is imparted to people when such discipline is required also on the part of managers and of the comrade alongside whom one is working. A socialist attitude toward common property is implanted when the rules established for its administration are strictly respected, and when a systematic control is carried out by the state and economic organs. From this viewpoint, it is important to understand that education is everyone's task and all of us must therefore think and work for this question.

The education of the workers in the spirit of socialist patriotism, love for the homeland and for the party is a major task of the trade unions. This is of particular importance in training the masses for the country's defense; and all the more so currently when this is dictated by the exacerbated and complicated situations in the world. Under these conditions we must be constantly vigilant, because socialist Albania is surrounded by numerous and savage enemies who have not given up their intentions to deny our people the victories attained with their blood and sacrifice. That is why in our country, young and old, with the party in the lead, remain always ready and unafraid to meet all situations, no matter how difficult they may be.

Implementing the party's directives that "the defense of the homeland is a duty above all duties," the trade unions have taken care to educate the workers in fulfilling their tasks in the field of military-political training, as well as in the field of production, in being exemplary soldiers as well as good workers. The trade unions must work even better in the future to make certain that the working people study the party's military line profoundly, that they be educated and trained on the basis of the military

art of the people's warfare worked out by the party and by Comrade Enver Hoxha. The question of the country's defense, and of being prepared in case of war, must deeply permeate all activity of our trade unions. It must predominate in the mind, heart and consciousness of every worker, and everything must be done in the service of this great idea, every activity, every thought. The country is defended by ideological education, by military tempering and by strengthening its economy.

The active participation of the working class and all the working masses in the country's administration, as the party teaches us, is an absolute and decisive prerequisite to preserve and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and to promote socialist construction. This principle has been consistently implemented in our country. The working class has become the master of the country. It enjoys all democratic rights and freedoms, jobs and education are guaranteed. Workers are elected to the highest party and state forums. They have their strong say in all important political, economic and social questions.

All this is a reflection of our socialist democracy, which is a genuine democracy of the working people. As the Eighth AWP Congress stressed, this is not only a historical achievement of the masses of the people, won in struggle and revolution, but at the same time also a need, an essential prerequisite, an internal law of the development of the socialist society and a great driving force of this society. The further deepening and development of socialist democracy requires a resolute struggle against all bureaucratic manifestations.

The party has made the dangers threatening the people's regime and socialism from bureaucracy clear to all of us. Under its leadership, the working class and all working masses have waged a constant struggle against bureaucracy. The results attained are the best proof of the truth of the party's great teaching that where the class speaks, bureaucracy is silent. But this teaching must be borne constantly in mind because bureaucracy is an evil that will not disappear all at once, and we are therefore confronted with its manifestations in such cases when the voice of the masses is not heard, when problems drag on, when there are demands to increase bureaucratic personnel lists, when cadres lose touch with the masses, when apparatuses are overrated and so forth.

The trade unions have fought against such manifestations, but their work has not always been as effective and constant as it should have been. It is even possible that the trade unions themselves fail to escape bureaucratic manifestations and the pressure of administrations. In a number of organizations the links with the masses are weak. There is a spirit of reconciliation with weaknesses, and the voice of the masses is not heard properly. It is important that everyone should understand correctly that struggling against bureaucratic distortions, weaknesses and individual mistakes, the trade unions are struggling to defend their state and to constantly strengthen it.

An effective instrument to struggle against bureaucracy and other manifestations of liberalism and technocracy is the direct control exercised by the

working class and the other working masses under the party's leadership. The working class as a class in power exercises its own control everywhere and over everything in order to implement and defend the party's line, to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and to successfully accomplish tasks in all fields of socialist construction. The trade unions have the duty to help this control be continually implemented and to be as effective as possible. In order for this process to be further developed, it is necessary for the trade union organizations to have a more extensive concept of this control, and not to simplify it in only one of its forms; that is, in the worker and peasant control groups. For this aim, we should use debates in the organization's meetings, discussions, criticism, the press and various other forms. Mass control should be especially exercised to protect common property, over administrative activity, and also in the field of services to the people and fulfilling their needs.

The struggle against bureaucracy is better carried out where serious work is done, so that the worker fully knows and implements the state laws. The party teaches us that every worker should know our major laws not simply to protect his own interests, but first to defend the interests of the state and enterprise. It is our organizations' task to explain to workers, firstly, the political, economic and ideological side of the laws, and afterward to educate them to implement these laws. Special care should be taken with laws which are related to accomplishing tasks according to regulations, to protecting and properly administering common socialist property, to strengthening work regulations and discipline, and others.

An important aspect of the struggle against bureaucracy is to establish correct relations between the masses and cadres. Under the party's continual care, thousands of revolutionary cadres have been raised who are closely tied to the masses and who struggle side by side with them to realize their tasks. Everywhere we can find high examples of an active cadre-mass cooperation and the integration of the intellectual capacities of specialists and cadres with the masses' struggle and experience. Live evidence of this are the design and construction of the hydropower complex over the Drin River, the opening of new mines, high productivity in agriculture and the precipitous flourishing of our art and culture.

The main way to strengthen cadre-mass relations is their continual education in the class spirit, having them systematically give accounts before it for major problems and not only for the sake of formality. This creates the need for our organizations to work to perfect these relations, struggling against cases of arrogance and pretentiousness which are alien to our society. Confining work to narrow circles, and failing to inform workers so that they do not participate in discussions and problem solving, do not comply with the masses' line. Everyday life shows us that a lively political life is created when problems are discussed with workers; in this way the masses' inspiration is furthered, the most effective possibilities and solutions are always found, aspects hindering work are better under control, and all tasks are successfully fulfilled.

The trade union organizations, continually living with these problems, should become platforms for the masses' ideas, should further raise their role so that they speak out strongly about everything, should open the way to innovation, heated debates, self-criticism and criticism of weaknesses. Comrade Enver Hoxha emphasized at the Eighth AWP Congress: "The aim is that the process of socialist construction will never be changed into a bureaucratic-administrative process, but that it will always be a lively and creative work of the broad working masses led by the party."

#### Let Us Further Revive the Organizations' Activity and Perfect Work Method and Style

Since their eighth congress and up to today, the Albanian trade unions have grown and strengthened. Among their ranks are 610,000 members. Led by the party, they have carried out a wide and comprehensive activity to educate and mobilize the working class and other workers.

The trade unions have been guided by the party directives and Comrade Enver's teachings in their entire life and activity.

Ensuring the party's leadership remains, also in the future, the only source of inspiration and correct orientation for the trade unions. The directing organs and base organizations must pay special attention to this principled question in order to successfully accomplish tasks set by the party in its eighth congress.

We have always rejected in principle and in practice the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists' anti-Marxist "theories" about the supposed independence of trade unions from political parties. In his own time Lenin emphasized that such theories are either a hypocritical counterrevolutionary mask or a complete manifestation of the lack of awareness. There is and can be no apoliticism in the trade union movement. The living daily reality shows that trade unions both in the capitalist and revisionist countries have placed themselves altogether in the service of the bourgeoisie, and implement the policies of its parties to split the proletariat and undermine its struggle. Not only do we not deny, but on the contrary, we emphasize the sociopolitical character of the trade unions and the necessity for them to be led by the party.

The great tasks emanating from the country's socialist construction require that the trade unions' influence, weight and role as important party levers be further increased. For this, it is of foremost importance that the party directives lead the masses well and mobilize them to implement these directives. To minimize the defects and weaknesses noticed, such as superficiality or one-sidedness, it is necessary to carry out more intensive work which takes into consideration problems preoccupying the district, enterprise, sector or brigade, and the concrete conditions under which the trade union organizations work, thus determining measures and ways to fulfill tasks. This is achieved through more direct communication with workers, miners, metallurgists, tractor drivers, construction workers, teachers and others. Bringing the people's voice, ideas and rich experience into the



party has always been and remains a permanent task of the trade unions. They must not allow cases where things are deemphasized, hidden or confined to narrow circles because these damage the ties between the party and masses, and seriously hinder the solution of problems.

Improvements have been made recently in the trade unions' work method. Their activity has been concentrated in the economy's main sectors and branches. Studies have helped them to better know the situation and to carry out more differentiated work with people. Their work has come closer to the masses. A greater drive and development has been given to initiatives, actions and discussions which discover weaknesses and encourage criticism and self-criticism in the organizations. Further steps have also been taken toward cooperation with other mass organizations and the state and economic organs. Yet, the Central Council and its Presidium should pay more attention to studies and general work to raise the organization's activity to a standard meeting present demands.

To realize the great objectives set by the Eighth AWP Congress, it is necessary to further improve work methods. It is our organizations' task to carry out lively work in various forms to better deal with major problems in their political, economic and social aspects, and to minimize those practices which restrict our work. The organization's meetings should be better evaluated. They should always be carefully prepared so that they will analyze problems preoccupying enterprises and workers, carry out lively discussions, give and demand accounts, disseminate experience and bring forward the merits of each member. But this does not mean that the organization's activity should be limited to meetings alone. Organizational norms should be respected and implemented, but not made inflexible, otherwise formality will take the place of creative and lively work, which in many cases has weakened the organization's strength.

In relation to this we should always take into consideration Comrade Enver's teaching which states that the existence alone of the unit, sector, enterprise and others results in the most varied work forms and means for the activity of every trade union organization. Many workers were continually criticized for not fulfilling norms in some agricultural enterprises, but the results were slight. When the organizations trusted the best activists and vanguard workers with overcoming this situation, they effectively worked with those that were backward, and discussed, analyzed and solved their problems so that most of them became distinguished workers. Thus the organization should not only demand accounts, but should have a deep knowledge of the people and concretely help them. In this way, it will become a beloved hearth for them, where people with an aim meet, where workers' ideas are discussed and free debates are carried out, where various activities are organized and help in compliance with the people's demands and wishes and the problems that preoccupy them. The trade unions' work is, first of all, work with the masses. They have a broad aktiv which helps to achieve this aim. Its elections and preparation continually assumes greater importance. The activists should be the best workers. Their work should speak for itself. They should enjoy the respect and love of their comrades and their words should carry weight. This is an important factor in raising the organization's activity and intensifying its social character.

Further strengthening cooperation with the other mass organizations will play a major role in implementing our tasks. Every organization has its own specific work but they are all united by the single aim to implement the party line and directives. Each mass organization finds its own tasks set out in the decisions of the Eighth AWP Congress, and all of them work together to put into practice the magnificent objectives. For every problem that arises, the organizations work with their members and all of them together raise the masses' revolutionary opinion and take action. This cooperation should be achieved in all spheres at the center and in the districts, but especially at the base.

At the same time, it is important also to strengthen cooperation with the state and economic organs because the trade unions have great tasks in the field of production. The trade union organizations powerfully support the solution of problems laid out by the state organs, which is the basis of their tasks in ideopolitical activity with workers. Despite the continuous improvements that have been made, this cooperation is not at the presently demanded level. This arises from some organizations' weaknesses in which they do not always work to get the workers involved in the enterprise's preoccupations, and likewise some administrations have weaknesses in that they undervalue the trade union organizations' force.

The working man is at the center of the trade unions' attention. Under party leadership, the achievements in fulfilling the workers' material and cultural needs are great. The masses' well-being is continually being raised. Work is ensured for everyone. Education and health are free. There are no taxes. Social security has been developed and extended even into the countryside. Maternity leave has been extended to almost 6 months. Thousands and thousands of apartments have been built for workers, and rent is the equivalent of 1-2 days' pay. Workers enjoy their holidays in rest homes and tourist centers.

Working to implement the party policy also in the social sector, the trade unions have been concerned with utilizing all possibilities that our socialist order has created to raise the masses' well-being. Care for the person, to increasingly better fulfill his needs with regular, organized and cultured services and supplies of high quality in the required time, has always been a permanent preoccupation of our party and socialist state. It is the trade union organizations' task to make the workers in services and food and light industry aware that they should work with more imagination and creativity to serve the people best and to give them more beautiful and cheaper products according to our socialist tastes.

In future, the trade union organizations should increase their efforts to precisely implement the state laws which protect the workers' rights, and they must not accept any breaking of these laws by anyone. They must work better to implement anticipated tasks in the legal provisions and the plan to further improve the work environment, to strengthen protection at work, to strengthen technical security and to educate workers with the spirit of respect for set regulations.

For this, at the beginning of each year, in compliance with the requirements of the labor code and the state's plan, agreements will be made between the enterprise's administration and the trade union committee in which the administration's tasks will be determined to raise the workers' technical-professional level, to improve cultural and artistic work, to physically and militarily cultivate them, and to improve protection at work, technical security and other things. To implement this, accounts will be given now and again by the enterprise's administration to the trade union organization.

Likewise, problems such as continual inefficiency at work, invalidity and the workers' physical and professional rehabilitation should be better pursued by the trade union organizations. Another set measure in this regard determines that the solution of misunderstandings between workers and state social security organs will not only be dealt with administratively, but also by the trade unions, as is done with all other misunderstandings outlined in the labor code.

Raising the quality of the trade unions' work dictates the need to make further improvements in their structure. The aim is that they become closer to the workers according to professions or economic branches, know more deeply the party's set tasks and arising problems, conduct more concrete and differentiated work with people to educate and mobilize them, and bring the masses' voice to the party even more than at present.

For this aim we propose that the General Council of Albanian Trade Unions, which this congress will elect, should create four central councils of the trade unions according to the main economic branches. These are: the industry and mining workers; agricultural workers; construction, communications and communal services workers; and education, culture, health and trade workers.

The creation of trade unions according to economic departments is not simply an organizational change, but will also bring about improvements in content, will create a fuller conception of the trade unions' role as the party's important lever, and a wider conception of their social character. This will bring about further improvements in work methods at the center and base. The activity of the central councils will be conducted under the direction of the General Council, thus not splitting the unity of the trade unions' work. Likewise this will also be done in the districts, where the Council of Trade Unions will also create local councils according to economic branches.

These improvements in the trade unions structure will also be reflected in the changes to the statute which the congress will approve.

The Activity of the Albanian Trade Unions Is Imbued With the Spirit of Proletarian Internationalism

The working class and the Albanian trade unions powerfully support the AWP's and our state's principled foreign policy. The high revolutionary and internationalist spirit which characterizes this policy, the principled

consistency in its implementation, serve socialist construction and the homeland's defense as well as the cause of the revolution, people's liberation and peace in the world.

The development of events in the international arena verifies the correctness of the deep Marxist-Leninist analysis of the present situation made at the Eighth AWP Congress. The deep economic, political and social crisis engulfing the capitalist-revisionist world daily worsens the situation and increases the danger of war.

All the consequences of this crisis weigh upon the working class and working masses: inflation, tax increases, unrestricted price increases, reduction of real wages, reduction of living standards which are accompanied by new bourgeois laws and measures to annul the rights won by the working class after many years of struggle, and to counteract the masses' revolt. The bourgeoisie limits trade union democratic rights and freedoms, limits the right to strike, freezes wages, and seeks new forms and methods to intensify exploitation, even up to a fascist life for the country. The especially widespread unemployment has now become a chronic wound. The United States now has over 10 million unemployed and the EEC countries have 11 million unemployed--figures never reached until now. The same situation exists in the Soviet Union, China, Yugoslavia and in the other capitalist and revisionist countries. The consequences of the crisis fall especially upon the workers of undeveloped countries, where the intervention of the foreign bourgeoisie and multinational companies make capitalist exploitation even more savage.

In order to increase its profits, the bourgeoisie exploits, at the expense of the workers, even the achievements of the technical-scientific revolution, the technicalization and automation of production, which not only intensify work in a merciless way, but also raise the scale of exploitation and throw great working masses into the streets.

But the working class has not accepted and will not accept this situation of exploitation and oppression. Life illustrates its continually increasing political and class awareness. Strikes, actions, demonstrations and other forms of protest are a living reality of the present times in the whole bourgeois-revisionist world. They have now become more massive, clearer in their economic and political demands, and are characterized by a stronger solidarity not only of the working class but of the other oppressed strata.

The working class, as the most revolutionary class, stands in the vanguard not only of the struggle for social liberation to realize its legitimate aspirations, but also of the anti-imperialist liberation movement. At the same time, it is the most active force in the struggle for peace and the prevention of war, against the warmongering policies of the superpowers and other imperialist powers.

The proletarian class struggle unmask the antiworker and strike-betraying activity and stands of the reformist and revisionist trade unions. These trade unions have today become extremely zealous disseminators of social

demagogy, class cooperation and also other illusions and speculations of bourgeois-revisionist ideology. The many reformist trade union centers in capitalist countries, despite their labels and names, are manipulated by the bourgeoisie and always find a common language when it is a matter of counter-acting the proletariat's revolutionary struggle.

With the deepening crisis in capitalist countries, the diversionist role of the worker aristocracy and bureaucratic trade unions, which as a social base of reformism and revisionism have been changed into administrators of the bourgeoisie, is being continually unmasked. This bureaucratic strata has become one of the major hindrances to the development of the class struggle; thus its unmasking and isolation liberates workers from many reformist illusions and helps to raise class awareness and revolutionary action.

The reestablishment of capitalism in the Soviet Union and other revisionist countries has changed their trade unions into bureaucratic organisms and tools serving the capitalist-revisionist state. Very large disproportions in the ratios between workers' remuneration on the one hand, and that of bureaucrats and technocrats on the other hand, show that a deep differentiation exists in the present bourgeois society of the Soviet Union, and a great gap divides the working class from the new bourgeois strata in power. The last congress of the revisionist Soviet trade unions revealed their complete degeneration, and willingly or unwillingly was obliged to admit the great detachment of the revisionist trade unions from the working class.

The events in Poland are also undeniable evidence of the corruption of the revisionist system. The revisionist course which began at the 20th congress of the revisionist Soviet party, the savage exploitation and oppression of the working class, the Soviet neocolonialist dictates and exploitation and the opening of doors to Western capital resulted in the explosion of the class conflict between workers and the revisionist regime in power. The Polish working class became aware that it is now in the position of an exploited and oppressed class, and thus rose in revolt. But it lacks a leading political force and its revolt was exploited by the Catholic Church and reaction. The outcome of this activity is the so-called independent trade union "Solidarity" which supports capitalist relations, the further political and economic penetration of Western imperialism, and aims to replace Moscow's domination with the yoke of Western imperialism. This is the real reason why it is supported in every way by the governments of imperialist countries, the Vatican, the bosses of American reactionary trade unions like AFL-CIO and others. In this clash of interests of the super-powers and world reaction, it is the interests of the working class and other workers that are trampled and denied.

The continually increasing political class awareness of the proletariat necessitates its organization, cooperation and unity. But unity cannot be achieved through "unitarianism" which is demagogically advertised by the revisionist trade union leaders, especially the Soviets and the World Trade Union Federation which is manipulated by them, nor can it be achieved through reformist and revisionist theories about trade union pluralism which is propagated as the epitome of democracy. True unity can only be

achieved on the basis of proletarian scientific ideology, through the process of the class struggle to fulfill the proletariat's economic and political demands.

The achievement of a healthy class proletarian unity is hindered by the influence and control exerted by the revisionists and reformists upon a large part of the trade union movement. Thus the new revolutionary trade union forces, in attempting to unite the working class, actively work in the heart of existing trade unions where large masses of the proletariat are organized, with the aim of raising the workers' revolutionary activity to defend their vital interests, to detach them from the influence and domination of reformist and revisionist leaders, agents of the bourgeoisie, and to change the trade union organizations into instruments of class struggle against the exploiting order. New revolutionary trade unions are also created where conditions and possibilities permit.

The unity, resistance and revolutionary vigilance of the working class and peoples grow and strengthen in the struggle against the aggressive, hegemonistic and expansionist policies, the exploitation and oppression pursued by American imperialism, Soviet social imperialism and the other imperialist powers. Serving this policy are also the international trade union centers such as the World Federation of Trade Unions, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the European Confederation of Trade Unions and others, which as tools of imperialism and social imperialism, attempt to numb the revolutionary drive of the working class, to spread pacifist illusions and the spirit of class cooperation. The revolutionary anti-imperialist struggle of the working class and people, which is in a position to stop the bloody hand of the imperialist superpowers, is powerfully raised against this war-mongering policy and the demagoguery spread by modern revisionists.

The working class, working masses and trade unions of our country, educated by the party in the spirit and principles of proletarian internationalism, closely follow the development of events in the world and express their complete solidarity with the revolutionary and liberation struggle of the proletariat and peoples against exploitation and oppression, imperialism and social imperialism to defend their rights to freedom, independence, democracy and social progress.

The workers of our country have warmly greeted the victory of the Iranian people, who with their armed uprising overthrew the shah's barbaric regime and expelled American imperialism; the victory of the people of Zimbabwe, and the overthrow of the pro-American dictatorship in Nicaragua. They resolutely support the just struggle of the Arab and Palestinian peoples for the liberation of their territories occupied by the Israeli aggressors and the reestablishment of the Palestinian people's legal rights; the Afghan people's struggle against the Soviet occupiers; the Azanian and Namibian people's struggle against the racist yoke; the spread of the revolutionary struggle in El Salvador and the struggle of all the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America against imperialism, neocolonialism and racism, for national and social liberation and general emancipation.

The Albanian trade unions have increased and further strengthened relations of cooperation, maintaining friendly ties with progressive and revolutionary trade union forces and organizations in many countries. Their evaluations and active support have always been an inspiration to our working class and people in the construction and defense of socialism.

The working class and Albanian trade unions support the party's principled stand for the resolute defense of the rights of our brothers who live on their territories in Kosovo, Macedonia and Montenegro. Now world public opinion has become acquainted with the Kosovo problem and the just demands of the Albanian population in Yugoslavia.

The Yugoslav leadership, especially the Serbian one, continues to brutally attack the national education and culture of the Albanian population, to offend and trample its best traditions and customs. Albanian workers are discriminated against, fired from work and forced to emigrate.

The blame for this situation lies with the Yugoslav leadership, which has not found the necessary wisdom and coolness to look at situations realistically and to seek just solutions to the problems compatible with the interests of the people of Kosovo and Yugoslavia.

The fact is that the Yugoslav leadership has not stopped to thoroughly consider with cool-headedness and political maturity the AWP's stand toward Yugoslavia in general and events in Kosovo in particular, clearly expressed by Comrade Enver Hoxha in his report to the Eighth AWP Congress.

Socialist Albania, from its foundation and up to today, has always been for peace and security in the Balkans, for freedom and true independence of all its neighbors, including Yugoslavia.

Comrades, the road which we have traversed under the party's guidance, led by Comrade Enver Hoxha, is filled with magnificent achievements. Our victories show that there is no task which cannot be realized, no difficulty which cannot be overcome and no bastion which cannot be conquered by the new man in socialist Albania.

The program approved and the historic decisions taken by the Eighth AWP Congress open brilliant prospects to always march forward. With the party at the head, with Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings in our minds and hearts, let us work, comrades, with multiple energies to fulfill the production plans in industry and agriculture, to fulfill tasks in education and culture and to strengthen the defense of our socialist homeland.

Let us resolutely advance with revolutionary spirit to where the party leads us. Let us implement its suggestions, raise our vigilance to make the dictatorship of the proletariat unbreakable, to raise the working class' leading role, and to make our beloved Albania more beautiful, prosperous and strong.

Let us throw ourselves into new battles, where our party calls us, where the homeland needs us, with our forces, our creative ideas and our sacrificing spirit!

Long live our glorious party, its Central Committee led by Comrade Enver Hoxha!

Long live our heroic working class!

Glory to Marxism-Leninism!

CSO: 2100/66



UNSATISFACTORY STATE OF MEDICAL SERVICES, CORRUPTION, BUREAUCRACY EXPOSED

Described from Patient's Standpoint

Sofia NARODNA KULTURA in Bulgarian 21 May 82 pp 2, 7

[Article by Nasko Mandadzhiev, outstanding employee of Ministry of Public Health: "Medicine Untaken. I. Requirements of the People--Master and Patient"]

[Text] In its new series, "Culture and Society," the newspaper NARODNA KULTURA will consider some of the most timely problems in various spheres of our social life.

In this issue we offer you two opinions on our public health problems. Today we discuss the prestige of the medical profession, the conditions under which it is achieved, the price of medical care, and all the barriers, great and small, that hobble the rate of optimum socialist public health care. The two opinions which we offer you, however, are only two of many permissible ones on the basic problem: society's capabilities for safeguarding the health of the individual.

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Mass prophylaxis, which has been started but which lags behind, must be improved and experimentation with the specific economic mechanism must continue.

It is heartening that recently the "curtain" has been lifted from medical problems for the public. And it is possible that these may be transformed from a narrowly departmental subject into a national one as the principles of socialist democracy command. In the spirit of the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress Comrade Todor Zhivkov raised these questions with special incisiveness in his remarkable speech to the October conference in 1981. Conversation was conducted that was devoid of formalism and window-dressing. . .

Without formalism, indeed, because if formalism can be tolerated in other areas, in medicine it is fatal. Because complaints voiced "tête-à-tête," because items of information from here and there about fatal medical mistakes, reports of wire-pulling among medical personnel and resulting letters of protest to the ministry, or else

some retort about the poor standards of polyclinical service do no good. None of this can take the place of an honest and constructive attitude towards our own public health service.

We are satisfied that these matters are clear to the medical authorities. Minister and Academician Radoy Popivanov said the following to the whole staff of the Ministry of Public Health (8 January 1981): "Wider and fuller participation of the public in the implementation of the party's public health policy, in the search for solutions to health care problems must be assured. . ." This is the right attitude towards the question even though criticizing boldly and frankly is not a very pronounced trait of ours.

#### Accumulation: Facts with a Question Mark

A tendency towards extensiveness, towards purely quantitative development, has made its way not only in the economic sectors, but also in medicine. Up to a certain time this was a necessary process--enough hospitals had to be built, necessary equipment had to be purchased, the necessary number of cadres had to be trained. In 1965 we had 14,000 physicians and 20,000 nurses, while today there are 23,000 and 46,000. Today there are about 400 citizens per physician and we rank sixth in the work in respect of this indicator, but 15 years ago there were 600. During this comparison period hospital and sanatorium beds increased from 70,000 to nearly 100,000, which means that before there were 85 per 10,000 persons, but now there are 120.

However the quantitative growth was not synchronized with qualitative growth. Our medical organization was not to blame for this since as a rule in dialectics, qualitative changes do not come until after quantitative accumulations. In other words, we could not expect great progress with 14,000 physicians and 70,000 beds. But may we not expect it today with almost twice the above two figures? And why are the service and the results deteriorating instead of improving?

For there are other, not at all pretty figures about the people's state of health:

--In 1965-1979 the death rate in the 40- to 50-year age group (the most active and highly skilled group) increased from 2.9 to 3.6 per 1000;

--In the same period the cases of illness in the country increased in number from 7 to 12 million;

--In respect of growth in the birth rate Bulgaria ranks 142nd in the world, but in respect of decrease in infant mortality it ranks 37th. Reaching its lowest level in 1979, this indicator has not declined in subsequent years. For example, 4700 persons, including 1050 infants, died of pneumonia in 1979.

#### The Gabrovo Model: Pro or Con

Unfortunately there has been no mention in recent years in Ministry of Public Health documents or conferences of the so-called "Gabrovo model of exemplary public health care." It started out well, but why did everything fade away? Perhaps the silence

in this matter is due to the resulting ill successes, or to the failure because of the scale of the undertaking, or else to the rejection of the model as erroneous methodology of previous management personnel. We do not take it upon ourselves to discover which of these reasons is the truth. Let us recall only what a stir the famous first Gabrovo polyclinic made at the time (1972-1974). At last a start was made on the campaigns for which we had waited for so many years: mass detection of persons with heightened risks of falling ill, with signs of early elimination, systematic prophylaxis, and card-indexing of every citizen (so-called screening). The more specialized mass methodologies (automated systems of immunization control and water and food inspection) and the centralized ones (brigade cleanup of hospitals, supply of sterile materials, laundering of linen, telephone orders for scarce medicines, admission of patients by an hourly chart, adoption of standardized medical forms) are all things that only unified socialist public health services can achieve.

Unfortunately, all these campaigns are still in their infancy nearly 10 years after their inception and announcement. And some of them remain only on paper. Why is this so?

Who knows why "full dispensary system" to this day strikes fear in all medical management personnel? Perhaps the fear comes from the great amount of work that has to be done. Interestingly, there is timorous talk again about this problem, even at the recent (constructive and very critically minded) public health forum--the national conference of personnel active in the country's public health service.

That it is not easy is a fact. But it is also a fact that we must not continue one day longer in the present style. For today you can be examined . . . everywhere and by everybody. You can be a patient in any hospital you want. Nobody asks you any more for your outpatient files. Nobody asks you what city you live in. And the last "spontaneous prophylactic examiners" have seen the pointlessness of making entries in files and if they do, they do it in perfunctory and bored fashion. All this is happening at a time when automated, computer-assisted dispensary treatment and prophylaxis predominate throughout the world. . .

All is not lost, however, we hope. The program documents envisage that 80 percent of the population will be covered by the dispensary system in 1985. So there is still time. And we should be prepared to shout "Hurrah" if we achieve at least 50 percent.

When we give up large-scale campaigns, it is logical to give up staff for these purposes, too. This simple thought almost entirely compromised the activity of the (initially) promising Institute of Social Hygiene and Public Health Organization and Administration. This link briefly ranked first on the score sheet of our well-known "institute reorganizations" which, in the event, gave rise to stagnation instead of leading to success. Finally, after a decade of existence the closing down of the institute ensued in 1981.

Perhaps we were too early with the establishment of such a link. Ten years ago we had no basis for modern organization. And now that we are ready for a determined policy towards an intensive health-care system, we should have been opening the institute rather than closing it.

## Public Health Service and the Economic Mechanism

The institute would indeed be exceptionally useful today when we are engaged in perhaps the most difficult task from 1944 to date--that of introducing the economic mechanism into the public health service. We are setting about the dismantling of a nearly 300-year-old stereotype--the stereotype of "budgetary public health service." There is no similar attempt in the other socialist countries at present.

We do not have a full complement of economists in public health (every public health institution will now have to have a planning and accounting unit or a specialist). We are starting out without having brought the population under the dispensary system and without having set up the absolutely obligatory information and production control system. Without having yet finished one new undertaking, we are adding another new one to it. But as the minister of public health put it at a conference to take stock of the experiment (5 February, Stara Zagora), "The die is cast, there is no turning back."

It is known that Plovdiv and Stara Zagora okrugs have been experimenting with the mechanism for 6 months with the reservation that not everything in the methodology has been specified. Such a setup might be somewhat risky for the point at issue is not better or worse economic results, but the health and lives of two okrugs. The health care institutions there have not received all the basic (even if incomplete) prescriptive documents. There are still no clear criteria for drawing up indicators.

In brief, the economic mechanism provides that public health services should be financed not only by the state budget, but also from their own sources and from revenues ceded by the state budget. Their own sources are the following: indirect health activities--cosmetic services, elective abortions, issuance of medical certificates etc.; medical services to enterprises which realize revenues from them--insurance, medical aid at sports and cultural events and to tourists; examinations and treatment at specialized institutions of citizens' personal choice; treatment at sanatoriums and health resorts etc. Other types of care will be paid for, too: on-the-job accidents, food poisonings, transportation accidents, and wounds and injuries for which the enterprises or individuals are at fault. The state will no longer, like a good mother, provide free treatment for alcoholics, ruffians, and those at fault for accidents.

We should mention some results taken from the okrug dental polyclinic in Stara Zagora. Eighteen contracts have been concluded with enterprises, with monthly receipts of about 5000 leva. Indirect economic efficiency has been achieved equal to a reduction of 6000 patient visits. At the end of the past year the polyclinic had collected a residual Wage Fund of 45,000 leva. An average salary of 265 leva per dentist was provided.

And here are the counterresults. In order to lower the "temporary disability ratio" (one of the economic criteria), fewer hospital days are granted, i.e., inadequately treated people are sent back to work. In order to guarantee "hospital bed occupancy" (another economic criterion), on the other hand, patients' stay is unwarrantably prolonged or their discharge from the hospital takes place on paper several days after their departure. In order to increase the bed inventory, rooms are

crammed with beds to the utmost. These are only some of the doings in "pursuit of the numbers." They still haven't all shown up. . .

It is known that, of all socialist economic activities, services are the most difficult to organize. There is a basic antagonism operating in them between the social character of the work and the private mode of payment. As a type of service (possibly the highest and most skilled at that), medicine is caught in the repercussions of this conflict, too. Moreover, in its case there is an open opportunity (as in other services) of altering the bookkeeping. Just as in the repair of faucets, the refrigerator or television set, here too the tendency will show up to overcharge (for manipulations) or to economize (on materials). Instead of only palpation of the stomach, an X-ray, massage, enema, injection and pills are recorded. Instead of 12 injections, 19 will be made. Instead of 100 stoves, 95 will be lit in the hospital. Instead of pneumonia, acute bronchitis will be entered in the file. If it is advantageous to increase the examinations, there is nothing to hinder. And if it is disadvantageous, that is easy, too.

The socialist public health system must by no means repeat the shortcomings of the capitalist system although ostensibly it borrows some methods from it. Never will it be permissible to extort the patient's last resources for newer and fictitious treatments. Never will the patient be reduced to the position of a "druggee"--"patched up" with strong medicines, having to maintain an artificial health regimen, and staving off, by all means, an expensive operation that will bankrupt the entire family's finances. But since these dangers run parallel with economic interest, they must be ruled out--intelligently and inviolably.

Happily there are indicators which contrast with the aberrations in economic results. If there is a rise in infant and general mortality, morbidity and the disability rate, everything else will decline. And no bonuses will be paid, but precisely the opposite. But here again the danger of temporary "patchwork" on patients comes into play: in these cases the adverse effects may appear years later when the physician-"economist" is already on pension. That is why we mentioned above that unless a general dispensary system and a constant watch on the people's state of health are established, the economic mechanism will be compromised.

In our opinion, the new system affords an opportunity of considering a few more things: the method of negotiating with enterprises should become the general--instead of an isolated--case. Every service for the patient (and his children) should be billed to his enterprise. This has been found the most modern way throughout the world at present.

Nonetheless, lest "too much play" result, the patient should be compelled to make a minimum payment per visit to the physician or per house call of the physician or ambulance. Then the importunate chronic patients who hang around the polyclinics for entire days will at once cut down their superfluous visits, and unjustified requests for house calls will at once become justified. No more is required here than to put the stotinkas and leva into play. . . Such proposals are all consonant with the new and exceptionally wise precept: entire structures must not be financed by the state, but only specified activities of these structures.

Some organizational forms, unfamiliar to us, are connected with the new mechanism: free choice of physician, creation of special teams to care for seriously ill patients, bringing of one's personal linen to the hospital, introduction of restaurant food service etc. But let us leave these otherwise splendid ideas and dwell on the question of what will happen to the payment, gifts, tips and favors which we now give to the physician, nurse and orderly. Will these continue as concomitants of the new mechanism, or will they lapse?

#### Gratitude to the Physician--How Much is it Worth?

At the Ministry of Public Health staff meeting (8 January 1981) it was stated, to say the least, that "nearly 25 percent of the refusals at pharmacies in the capital are for subjective reasons; individual signs of corruption on the part of orderlies and certain other health care workers have not been eliminated." And at the national conference with personnel active in health care: ". . . Cases of gross violation of the elementary standards of conduct, of callousness, lack of sympathy, impatient listening to patients, superficial examinations, careless explanations of patient's condition, tactless remarks and even refusal to perform professional duty."

And here are some specific remarks to illustrate the above--we cite the monologue of a physician in attendance in a hospital room: "Are you a friend of Dr. S.? He has no ability, but we'll see about you"; "Be quiet and stop your whining. There's nothing the matter with you, I've told you a thousand times"; "Did you come from Pomorie where they have the beautiful fish? I'll see you now. . ." Physician (to interpreter for the patient, a foreigner): "He won't give up 'Kents,' this friend won't. Ask him why he doesn't have 'Metaxas.'" Retort of female attendant in maternity home: "I'll let you up, but do you have any candy?" "Give me a lev and I'll run over in a jiffy and tell her"; "If you pay, there'll be a bedpan; if you don't, there's the sheet"; "I'll bring you milk, but won't you do something to return the favor?" "I understand you're a knitter. I won't ask you for 20 leva, but will you knit me a sweater?"

But these are petty "thank offerings." Here are larger ones: a certain patient waits 5 months for a bed while another enters the next day. One is seen to by the entire medical staff while nobody looks in on his neighbors. In one place the lev, elsewhere cartons with whisky, hundred-leva notes, high favors to barter with. In one place, noble, solicitous, impartial care; in another, . . .

Under the system corruption is by now corroding even the medical workers most immunized against it: "Everybody is doing it. Shall I be a simpleton?" By now the conviction is spreading that if you don't pay, you won't get quality care. In point of fact, about 50 percent of the care today is paid for. Is this not an organized attempt to bring back private medical practice? Is this not a protest against the medical man's relatively lower pay? Against the fact that there is not enough departmental housing for physicians, not enough holiday homes, modern equipment and instruments?

Medical personnel have always had the feeling that they are the specialists most necessary for life. From the viewpoint of all mankind, however, they have rights equal to all other specialists. This is the socialist way of reasoning. But it is also socialist reasoning that a section physician should get as much as the chief

engineer of an enterprise rather than as much as an ordinary engineer. He has approximately 2000 persons on his back (and conscience). Under these conditions, is the engineer's mental clash with an unfulfilled plan the same as the physician's with a high-percentage death rate?

Under the new economic mechanism perhaps the physician will receive the remuneration due his worth. Let us hope that everything will be specified as it should be in this area. As for private practice, it has some very beneficial advantages if it is to be brought back, just as free choice of physician has some very objectionable shortcomings if it is to be eliminated. Perhaps the truth lies somewhere in the middle. Perhaps it is more beneficial for the physician to have a private practice with the right to bill (as a health care institution does) for his service directly to the enterprise. Free choice of physician is becoming more and more discredited. Antagonism is created between physicians. More and more frequently one encounters the refusal of ordinary physicians to treat a patient under, or send a patient to, "the great specialist". . .

Other new ideas are encountered: ward maids to be paid personally and directly by patients (this is done now in almost all cases). Some nurses should be paid this way too. The right to an official gratuity, expressed in money in cases when the patient is very satisfied with the person treating him, should be introduced.

For the present these are only ideas. In many of them there is something controversial, but at the same time there are some rational things. The future will tell which of them will become established.

One thing is clear, however. We all understand that we must not continue with medicine in this way.

#### Described from Physician's Standpoint

Sofia NARODNA KULTURA in Bulgarian 21 May 82 pp 2, 7

[Article by Emi Barukh: "To Have and To Have Not. II. What Physicians Want and What They Offer. The Difficulties of the Physician's Working Day"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] Everybody who lived under socialism has the feeling that he possesses his health free of charge just as he possesses his life as a gift. . . But the medical statistics are of a different opinion. Thus in 1980 in our country 57.2 million visits were paid to doctors' offices at outpatient polyclinical establishments, i.e., everyone of the 8,876,600 inhabitants of Bulgaria visited a physician 6.5 times.

. . . So everybody needs a physician--if only to maintain the dynamic equilibrium of a century characterized in respect of its diseases by allergies, road and transportation accidents, and cardiovascular pathology. . .

Medical service in our country is both free and expensive--it has at its disposal buildings, equipment and appliances worth more than 1,100,000,000 leva.

But complacent because of these thousands and millions, we forget, as it were, the little things that make us pay dearly.

For years in a row intradepartmental reports have pointed out a fact that is usually skipped over as unimportant in the overall program for raising the health service standard. /Cleaning up and current disinfection/ in hospitals are performed manually and with primitive appliances. (Throughout the world there are washing machines--extremely necessary for every hospital--which could be produced without any particular difficulties by various branches of our industry.) But this important fact continues to dangle as nobody's concern and to do its damage. During the period 1976-1980 alone hospitals registered 187 epidemic outbursts with 2018 cases and 176 deaths! Analysis has shown that "the bulk of in-hospital infections are due to hygienic failures and to serious infractions of sanitary conditions." Should not such a statistic have compelled us to come to the conclusion that there are no trifles in medicine?

Another statistic which is not recorded in a single yearbook has an even more preposterous ring: instances when surgical intervention could not proceed in the operating room because . . . /there was no laundered linen/. And sheets had to be dried in the physicians' room of the intensive-care ward.

A month ago the second surgical ward of the First Workers Hospital had to summon a team urgently during the night for an operation on a seriously ill female patient. The surgeon on duty had given his instructions and with touching concern was keeping an eye on the patient's condition while waiting for the team to assemble. Half an hour passed; more than an hour passed. The surgical nurse and the anesthetist did not arrive. (Can the taxi drivers in the capital city of sleeping millions know in what part of it the persons most needed at two o'clock in the morning of 8 March will be?) The hospital has at its disposal highly skilled personnel who have taken expensive and difficult training and accumulated irreplaceable experience in a 30-year period of service, but /does not have a car at its disposal/ to pick up an operating team in a hurry. The operation was postponed until morning. In another case such a delay might be fatal.

And so we must seek first from physicians the reasons why infant mortality has not declined since 1979, why the mortality of children from 1 to 14 years of age remains at a higher level than in a number of European countries, and why the death rate among the population in the most active and creative age group (between 40 and 59) has increased.

We promise tips so as not to wait for years to have a telephone installed. We hand out gifts if the thermoregulator for the refrigerator or the 6-volt battery for the "Trabant" reach us; in the option more in demand we reckon the equivalent of the favor in "Troen Leshnik" [Triple Hazelnut] or in "Byalo Konche" [White Colt]. Our living standards are stronger than our principles. For both the thermoregulator and the storage battery are commodities in short supply. . .

But there are physicians. They don't even have to be paid and this remarkable achievement of our time, together with the universal accessibility of health care institutions, makes the selfless labor of the people in white overalls "look easy" in the eyes of many people.



We give hardly a thought /to the conditions under which physicians work/ until perforce we land there. But our duty to medicine begins as early as the delivery room and the micropediatrics ward.

Hardly anyone could blame health care workers for the construction of health care institutions. We, the people "on the other side," were the first to underestimate their importance, for in all cases of necessary economies health care projects were the ones we readily postponed for "later on." Here are some facts for Sofia and the okrug alone.

Quite a few years ago a Leninist subbotnik [a person performing unpaid mass work on social jobs, on days off and overtime, originally on Saturday] collected money to build a free-standing cardiovascular complex. But the disputes over where it should be built--on the site of the Third City Hospital or in Sukhodol--have not yet ended . . .

On 1 June 1979 the first earth was turned for a future pediatrics institute. The site had long since been overgrown with weeds!

Since 1960 there has been discussion of a plan for a Fifth Sofia City Hospital . . . and to this day there is no trace of it.

The Obstetrics and Gynecology Institute of the Medical Academy has been under construction for 12 years, the Pirdol hospital for 15--a sufficiently long time for even the most modern design solutions to become obsolete.

/Builders' organizations/ seek every possible way of dragging out the completion of these projects, which are labor-intensive because of their specifications, the complex inner structural distribution, complex communications and nontraditional installations. This makes impossible easy fulfillment of the plan. All deadlines for the construction of health care institutions are scandalously violated, which results in other violations afterwards--hospitals are put into operation with house-keeping facilities not built. But even we of the mass information media, instead of compelling public evaluation of the flight from responsibility in construction, are satisfied with "more readable" topics like acupuncture or protein therapy.

We have no enterprise that produces nonstandard furniture meeting the specifications of hospitals; there are no elastic stockings for patients suffering from vascular diseases; there are no needles and syringes for one-time use--exceptionally important mainly for the control of hepatitis; frequently there is no catgut or high-quality cement for fillings; there are no transport wheelchairs or equipment to get patients in contact with medical personnel--an anesthesiologist can help in a case of clinical death only if he gets to the patient within three minutes. An average of four minutes alone must elapse before the message, delivered in a breathless run through the corridor by some nurse, reaches the physician; there is no intercom system for the physicians themselves; the supply of materials is irregular, and sometimes expensive and modern equipment stands idle due to the lack of spare parts and impaired coordination.

There are great claims against /the Health-Care Construction Institute/, a specialized and skilled departmental organization in the Medtekhsnabserviz [Medical

Equipment Supply Service] Directorate recently set up in the Ministry of Public Health, which "must not only forecast, plan, deliver and repair all medical equipment, but also introduce an automated system for monitoring the technical parameters and the utilization rate of medical equipment." Probably then the modern castomats, which cost thousands of foreign-exchange leva and cut down many fold the time it takes to cast a prosthesis, will operate only one hour a day and will also fill the orders of those laboratories where to this day--250 years after the Frenchman Pierre Fouchard founded dental prosthetics--casting is done in the same way--by hand, with powder! . . .

When we are not satisfied just to ask for new laboratories, new equipment and new staffs, but make rational use of the existing ones without permitting wasteful practices or confusion, that is precisely what intensification of work and modern organization of labor are.

Whenever we criticize physicians, we must also remember the things that form their work days, determine the atmosphere in the hospital room and increase the percentage of risk in a profession where risks are fatal.

We want them to be a class of gentlemen, but between two operations the surgeon does not even have a chance to smoke a cigarette, being occupied (for the lack of a technical secretary) with a detailed report of the intervention he finished. Physicians do a great deal of writing and this finding has been repeated many times, too, but with no result so far! According to the calculations of the chief physician of the okrug hospital in the capital, 40 percent of the labor of the higher medical cadres goes for unskilled work. I want to repeat this percentage with alarm: 40 percent.

The efficient use of physicians' labor and the provision of two-stage services make it imperative that the ratio of higher to middle-ranking cadres fluctuate between 1:4 and 1:5 in favor of the middle-ranking cadres, without infringing upon the number of orderlies. (At present, this ratio is 1:2.5 and for most of his work day the physician is actually by himself!)

On reaching the age of 60, physicians are obliged to leave the health-care system and they do not even have the right to write a prescription. But this is a considerable contingent of experienced and capable people whose functional fitness should be assessed before their professional file is closed. These specialists, as well as female physicians with children under three years of age, might be given an opportunity to work half a day, for example, in schools where, owing to complex relations with teachers and directors (forbidding children to be taken out of classes other than physical culture and vocational training), giving prophylactic treatment to the rising generation is greatly hampered. The question requires a principled decision also because of another fact--the uneven training of cadres for some public health areas. (According to 1980 statistics, the physician-to-population ratio is 1:407, the dentist-to-population ratio is 1:1834. There are no internist specialists in vascular diseases, while chronic venous insufficiency of the extremities is the second cause of temporary disability. The average age of cardiologists in the capital is 55 years. Who will inherit their experience in 5 years if we automatically exclude them from the health service system at the above-indicated cut-off time?)

We want physicians to be well informed and to possess reliable competence, but we do not give them information about the percentage sugar content of lemonade or the nicotine and tar content of cigarettes. Materia medica information is insufficient. Although pharmaceutical executives are obliged to give notification of the latest drugs they receive, they either do it irregularly or forget this obligation of theirs.

"Meditsina i Fizkultura" [Medicine and Physical Culture] Publishing House also falls short in its duty towards physicians--many pocket publications are needed in particular specialties, written by the best specialists who have a flair for synthesis and can pass on world experience. There are no materia medica manuals in minimum compass for rapid reference, compiled by a team on which there are physicians in addition to pharmacologists.

Thus, torn between various shortages, passes /the physician's work day/, which hardly fits into the unrealistically regulated 8 hours. I believe that this, too, is one of the great misunderstandings about this responsible and strenuous profession. We must not expect full fitness for work after 6 hours in his office, or the possibility of continuing professional education after eight hours of exhausting appointments with patients.

We have mechanically counted the medical profession in the nonproduction sphere because nobody has figured out how to calculate how much it is worth to the state to prolong an engineer's life by ten years or to restore a lathe hand to fitness for work a month ahead of time! Nobody disputes the arduous character and the specific nature of medical work--a great nervous, physical and emotional strain. Despite this, only 10 percent of all medical personnel enjoy organized rest and recreation. In respect of this indicator, health-care workers rank last (!) in comparison with other sectors. . .

This profession, which is not a member of any union of creative people, suffers from yet another misunderstanding. Owing to the complexity of determining the worth of the diverse labor of higher medical personnel, we have automatically placed them within the framework of traditional labor remuneration: 155 to 210 leva (!). Despite the fact that during an intubation (putting the patient into an anesthetized state), for example, the mental strain on the anesthesiologist is comparable to the strain on cosmonauts during takeoff! Despite the fact that the annual subscriptions of a self-respecting specialist who wants to keep abreast of modern achievements in his field amount to about 250 leva! Despite the fact that statistics rank health care workers second in occupational diseases after miners!

Have we not denied these people, who do not even have a right to free medicine, some of the respect due them? How otherwise shall we explain the fact that in the bustle of our workdays it has occurred to us to confer the high title of "Hero of Socialist Labor" to only seven of all the nearly 110,000 medical workers?

Participants in my investigations were professors Evgeni Apostolov, Aleksandur Doychinov, Albert Lukanov, Ivan Popvasiliev, Khristo Petkov, Ivan Sechanov and Khristo Khristozov; physicians Mincho Khandzhiev, Evgeniya Burnarska, Moysey Grasiyani, Venelin Lechev, Valentin Melamed, Aleksandur Nestorov, Mois Nisimov, Stefan Frantsov and Fani Turakova; dentists Mila Petrova and Kiril Raev; and dental technician Ivan Raychev.

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POLEDNIK OUTLINES NATIONAL COMMITTEE TASKS AT 16TH CONGRESS

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Apr 82 pp 3-4

[Report of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee presented by Jindrich Polednik at the 6th session of the CPCZ Central Committee: "On Tasks of National Committees after the 16th CPCZ Congress"]

[Text] Comrades, the year since the 16th CPCZ Congress was spent in dedicated work of our party and society in implementing the decisions of the congress. Our people express their profound confidence in the program of the congress, adopted by the entire National Front; they supported it fervently in the elections to the legislative bodies and national committees. Much has been done in our social life, economy, education and culture to achieve the outlined goals. As the 4th session of the CPCZ Central Committee stressed, however, the tasks are increasing in their complexity, which demands that we step up our efforts to fulfill the directives of the congress and for that purpose mobilize all forces and resources of our society.

At our meeting today we are discussing the tasks of our national committees so that this powerful social force may bring even more significant contributions toward implementing the policies of our communist party, so that our national committees are aware of their enormous responsibility in their approach to implementing the decisions outlined by the 16th CPCZ congress, and so that the standard of their work equal the demands of the 1980's. Here we proceed from their revolutionary traditions and from the abundant experience gained since their creation.

The national committees were established as organizations of our people in the struggle against fascism for our national and social liberation. From the beginning their mission was a part of a sharp political struggle for reorganization of the system in the liberated republic between the representatives of the bourgeoisie and the CPCZ, which was supported by the progressive forces of our nations.

Upon the initiative of the communists, the national committees were transformed for the first time during the Slovak National Uprising into new organs of the people's revolutionary power and gradually organized throughout the entire liberated territory. Thus, during the national democratic revolution they developed as mass organs of our working people;

they represented the government of the people in communities and became the pillars of the people's new democratic statehood.

Their role was anchored in the program of the Kosice Government. Unlike the former bureaucratic administration in the service of the bourgeoisie, the national committees became the authentic executors of the will of our people and organizers of a new life and revolutionary changes. They consistently implemented the interests of our working people and provided dedicated assistance in the renewal of our war-torn country.

In February 1948 they performed a crucial role in the critical clash with the bourgeoisie, took a dynamic part in building foundations for socialism and boldly promoted industrialization and the transition of our villages to the system of cooperative mass production. The work of our national committees is indivisibly linked with results in our successful, constructive efforts.

In building a developed socialist society, our national committees are playing an important role in consolidating the power of our people. They demonstrate the unity of the state power and administration in territorial districts and share significantly in the planning of our state policies, their implementation and control. As Comrade Gustav Husak stated in his report to the 16th CPCZ Congress, "through national committees hundreds of thousands of our citizens participate in the administration of their communities, okreses and krajs."

Last year's elections to the representative councils offered another convincing proof that our national committees are closely linked with the life, needs and interests of our citizens. Nearly two-thirds of the 196,469 representatives involved with national committees are industrial and farm workers; the rest are members of the intelligentsia and other social groups. The social distribution of our national committees proves that the foundations of our state constitute a solid union of the workers' class, cooperative farmers and the intelligentsia.

More than 30 percent of the representatives in the national committees are women and almost 40 percent are under 35 years of age; this confirms that women and the ascending young generation have a major share in the administration of our state and social affairs.

The communists, unaffiliated and members of other political parties, nations and nationalities living in the CSSR have joined their efforts in the national committees to fulfill vital tasks in building socialism. Through the national committees they share equally in the administration and control of our state.

The authority of the national committees has grown substantially during the 1970's. Their comprehensive achievement significantly enhanced our success in building a developed socialist society, in satisfying the needs and interests of our citizens, in intensifying social democracy and in consolidating the political and moral unity of our people.

Nevertheless, the scope and demands of the new tasks, the dramatic changes in the internal and external conditions for their implementation as well as the growing needs of our people have posed new tasks for our national committees--as for our party and our society as a whole--and imposed higher demands on their work. For that reason our national committees have an imperative mission to develop further and upgrade the level of their activities, to overcome more expeditiously the existing shortcomings, many weak points and ingrained routine, so that the national committees may better fulfill their societywide role and serve our people.

The demand to expand the share of our national committees in the achievement of the objectives outlined by the 16th CPCZ Congress calls for the following:

- Intensification of the social role of the national committees as local organs of state power in consolidating and developing our socialist system; upgrading of the political and professional standards of state administration; attunement of all of its work with the demands posed by building a developed socialist society in the 1980's;

- Better exploitation of financial and material resources and of local opportunities by our national committees for satisfaction of people's needs; aid to citizens in creating advantageous conditions in housing, services, education and culture, health care and environmental protection;

- More effective participation in converting our economy into an intensive development system; more efficient exploitation of work forces; efficiency of capital investment and rational economy in expenditures of assets; comprehensive economic and social development of territorial areas;

- Further growth of our citizens' participation in the work of the national committees; more intensive role of their elected organs and representatives; better cooperation with social agencies and interest groups and with the organs of the National Front in developing work and social actions of our citizens and in their socialist education.

## I. Vital Role in the Implementation of Economic and Social Policies

Comrades, the economy managed by the national committees has become an important factor of the Czechoslovak economy in building socialism. Along with the health and educational systems it operates with more than 1.5 million employees, roughly one-fourth of all citizens engaged in our economy, it shares 24 percent of the total volume of investments and a full one-third in the expenditures of our state budgets. This not only reflects the profound democratism of our social system but also indicates the enormous co-responsibility of our national committees in implementing economic and social policies of our party and state.

It is a well-known fact that in the Seventh Five-Year Plan we must cope with unusually demanding tasks in the economic development in order to achieve an internal and external balance of our national economy. This compels our national committees to devote considerably more attention to the fulfillment

of their economic tasks, to be far more emphatic in enforcing the demands for efficiency and quality in every type of work, to insist rigorously on good stewardship in every sector and to respect steadfastly the social potential in their plans. All their programs and their full economic potential must serve to satisfy the material and spiritual needs of our people.

In the past the economy managed by the national committees has progressed considerably. During the Sixth Five-Year Plan almost 650,000 housing units were built; since 1970, nearly every fourth family had moved into a new, modern apartment. Extensive construction and modernization of schools, day-care centers, kindergartens, health and public facilities, and retail and transport networks continued. Care for children and youth marked further improvement; opportunities for our citizens' enjoyment of sports and cultural events were substantially expanded. Thus, the work of our national committees contributed toward a high standard of living for our people.

Nonetheless, such positive achievement cannot conceal the fact that problems accompanying the development of our national economy are evident also in the activities of our national committees, particularly in capital investment and housing construction, in maintenance and repairs of the housing fund, in the high rate of unfinished construction projects, in the inferior quality of services and so forth. Invested capital is not always efficiently and profitably exploited. Considerable shortcomings appear even in economic organizations of our national committees, in planning, organization and management, in the implementation of economic programs and in the degree of discipline. For that reason demands for thrift, efficiency and more consistent application of the Set of Measures for Improving the Planned Management System are fully applicable also to the national committees. Our national committees as well as our entire society are faced with the uncompromising duty to contribute significantly to directing our economy toward intensive development.

First of all, our national committees must put their own material and financial resources to better use so as to fulfill their societywide tasks and to provide for the needs of our citizens. They must be more consistent in their attention to good stewardship when investing their funds.

The 16th CPCZ Congress accentuated the demand that our national committees be more effective in influencing the comprehensive economic and social development of territorial areas. In order to fulfill that task, the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and the government adopted principles for expansion of the authority and responsibility of our national committees. On that basis, in the interest of an efficient deployment of investments and work forces, more thorough utilization of the production potential as well as of the natural and social potential of the territory, the kraj national committees in particular must fully assert themselves in district and territorial planning and in adopting prompt and responsible approaches to development concepts proposed by centrally managed organizations. On the other hand, central organs must more expeditiously acquaint the kraj national committees with their objectives and not with the accomplished fact, as frequently done.

It is desirable that in the close cooperation of the national committees with central state and economic organs the funds invested in individual communities be used more efficiently for better coordination of the ministries' plans with the conditions and potential of territorial units, economic efficiency and creation of better living and working conditions for our citizens.

Many years of experience have confirmed that the election programs of the National Front represent comprehensive plans for the development of communities and towns, okrises and krajs. It is to the credit of the civic initiative and organizational efforts of our national committees that Project Z created value amounting to billions and built facilities to serve and benefit our people. Such a program should continue and the election programs of the National Front should be applied to unify the forces and assets of our national committees and of economic, social and interest organizations to fulfill the most vital tasks in their territorial districts and to advance the development of civic actions.

The opportunities for our economic development in the Seventh Five-Year Plan demand that capital investment be focused exclusively on the most urgent needs and that investment funds be used very prudently. The current level of investing cannot be expected to rise. Furthermore, we must anticipate lower investments in the economy of the national committees because their funds must be concentrated in selected areas. This makes it imperative for our national committees to review thoroughly their investment plans for the coming years, assess them most scrupulously and weigh their urgency. Completion of projects already under construction and remodeling and modernization of existing projects are of first priority. New construction may be considered only if it fulfills the most urgent needs of our citizens and vital tasks in the development of our towns and communities. In no instance may it support demands above the needs and beyond the resources of our society.

In planning investment programs there is no place for cheap wheeling-dealing, concessions to various pressures, favoring local interests over social needs, expressions of local patriotism, insufficient deliberation and excessive magnanimity. When dealing with these problems, our party organs must adopt a more critical approach to the communists on the national committees and insist on their unconditional respect for societywide interests.

#### For More Comfortable Housing

In terms of their economic and political importance and in terms of our people's needs, the problems of housing, housing construction and technical and public facilities in our towns and communities appear in the forefront. These concerns are not new; however, the stringent conditions under which we are implementing the Seventh Five-Year Plan call for fundamental improvement in the efficiency and effectiveness of their fulfillment.

In building socialism, the quality of housing and of housing capacities have improved dramatically, with more than 60 percent of the housing units built after 1945.



The decision of the 16th CPCZ Congress charge that in this 5-year plan central state and economic organs and national committees continue to improve the housing situation of our population and to contribute toward more efficient deployment of work forces and their stabilization by building new housing. In addition to the planned construction of new housing, national committees and all investment and construction organizations must be unconditionally more consistent in comprehensive construction of housing and of technical and public facilities and fundamentally upgrade the quality of completed projects. Analogically, unfinished projects must be completed and the area and technology must be prepared expeditiously for the comprehensive housing construction. Here we must proceed from specific conditions and respect the stipulated limits when covering vital needs.

For that purpose central state organs must balance in their plans the volume of housing construction with necessary technical and public facilities. It is the duty of the ministries of construction to enforce, in cooperation with the national committees, necessary changes in the structure of the capacities of construction production and to adapt economic management plans to the requirements of comprehensive housing construction.

In consideration of housing standards, considerably more flexibility must be allowed for better management and maintenance of existing housing and for the reconstruction and modernization of older apartments and houses. In this sector in general, several shortcomings remain evident. Funds have frequently been spent for maintenance without due consideration; repairs are often delayed, shabby and protracted.

Enterprises of housing economy, rampant bureaucracy and, in certain cases, outdated regulations are to blame for many such shortcomings. Capital investment swallows too many capacities of okres construction enterprises, which are used in part to meet the tasks of Project Z. All this results in a poorly managed apartment and housing fund and in its premature deterioration, which prompts legitimate criticism from our citizens.

To upgrade the quality of housing and to improve the housing management, it is imperative to restructure the whole organization of housing economy administration. Preconditions for its rational organization and management must be set in the plan, economic policies and material incentives to enterprises and individuals; their technological and legal norms must be adjusted and simplified.

It is just as imperative for the national committees together with central state organs and associations of housing and production cooperatives to make drastic changes during the Seventh Five-Year Plan in focusing plans for local construction by enterprises and cooperatives on maintenance and care for the housing and apartment fund and on reconstruction and modernization. The management of the plan and implementation of economic policies must be attuned to these demands. By the same token we must insist that local construction enterprises be furnished with all necessary technical equipment.

Along with the concern of the national committees for gradual reconstruction and modernization of houses, streets and urban centers, it is advisable to promote the interests of our citizens, especially in rebuilding and remodeling individual apartments in towns. More thorough utilization of older housing capacities simultaneously benefits the interests of our society. For that reason organizational, financial and legal provisions must be promptly issued for assignment or, if necessary, for sale of such apartments to citizens or organizations, our national committees must offer more initiative in this direction.

When speaking of housing construction and of the maintenance of the housing fund, we must appreciate that most of our people reside in cooperative apartments and family houses. Therefore, we expect that organs of housing cooperatives will present proposals concerning improvement of housing management, better housing maintenance and comprehensive cooperative construction.

The focus of the activity of the national committees and their organizations is primarily on rational consumption of fuels and energy. In the first place, housing management must strive to improve thermal technology in housing projects, to introduce metering and control equipment, to convert existing boilers to energy conservation and to cut excessive losses of heat. This program is being introduced. Many technical or improvement proposals are still on paper; industrial and construction enterprises, even those managed by the national committees, failed so far to help fulfill such urgent needs more expeditiously. In no case can this be tolerated.

Moreover, the national committees may also promote better exploitation of local resources of energy by building or converting small hydroelectric powerplants, constructing incinerators for communal and industrial refuse and recycling wood waste for fuel.

Rational utilization, primarily of propellants, demands that the national committees pay attention to mass passenger transportation and personal commuting to work and school and that they proceed with deliberation in furnishing other kinds of transportation. By the same token, shortcomings, such as incompetent operation of transport organizations, disregard for schedule, lack of discipline and inferior management, must not lurk behind the restricted consumption of propellants.

Planning of passenger transport, especially in major cities, must be considered seriously. Competent central organs with the national committees must assess improvements in transportation mainly in terms of potential sources of energy, and outline the development of electric and trolley traction not only in general but also in specific terms for individual towns.

Reviews of factory freight transport made by people's control councils have exposed a great deal of waste. The national committees must put their own organizations in order and furthermore must participate far more vigorously in enforcing a rational system of all factory transport.

## Better Services to Our Citizens

Comrades, another important task involves fundamental improvement of services rendered to our population and managed primarily by national committees. In his report to the 16th CPCZ Congress Comrade Gustav Husak stressed, "Special attention is due to the development and quality of services. Every responsible worker in that sector must realize that this is not only an economic but also a highly political issue."

In view of such imposing but legitimate demands, the conditions in this sector cannot be regarded as satisfactory. The situation with the repair of shoes, leather goods and garments, with chimney sweeping and with other services, as well as instances of dishonesty, inferior quality and excessively protracted repairs, are targets of public criticism. In many cases our citizens lack easy access to services because of the inconvenient location of shops or because of inconvenient business hours; certain types of repairs are not available.

Our national economy has ample resources and work forces to provide services for the needs of our citizens. The socialist system of services and local production organized in recent years operates many enterprises and workshops, with about 700,000 employees. This sector has not always received due consideration; crucial problems in its development have not been promptly resolved and adopted decisions have not been consistently implemented.

This intolerable situation with services stems mainly from the low standard of their management, which is expensive, bureaucratic and inflexible. The systems of planning, financing and incentives do not fully respect the area of services nor do they impress on their organizations that it is of the highest importance to satisfy the needs of our population. Furthermore, the technical equipment of their enterprises and organizations is not always up to the required standard; problems with supplies of technical material, spare parts, instruments and tools are not always properly resolved.

Many enterprises of the national committees and production cooperatives deviated from their original purpose and are searching for easy profits in cooperation with various types of production in the centrally managed industry--alas, frequently with the tacit approval of the national committees. Organizations of services and the local economy serve our population at only about 25 percent of their capacity. Moreover, various local opportunities to provide for the needs of our citizens are underutilized. As a result, a sizable part of our population depends for services on all kinds of unlicensed hacks.

What can we do to achieve gradual but fundamental improvement of services in accordance with the postulates of the 16th CPCZ Congress? A recent decision by the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and the measures adopted by the governments offer a reply to this question. They begin with the simplification of the entire system of management and planning; financial, credit and tax policies; preconditions for more flexible management of services; and implementation of more enticing economic incentives expanding these services and reducing their costs, including administration.

The number of applicable indicators of the plan has been drastically cut. Only the share of wages in the output, without material consumption, or, as the case may be, selected specific tasks according to societywide needs will serve as the mandatory indicator on the central level. The management of service enterprises and workshops will be gradually converted to the enterprise and subdivision khozraschot system, which will be strictly observed. The wages of workers in services will be determined by the standard and quality of services rendered to the population.

Charges for services rendered will be consistently based on decisions of the 16th CPCZ Congress on price control, economic and social function of prices and their relation to costs. The best way to raise profitability of service enterprises to an appropriate level is through better stewardship; reduction of excessive operational costs, including administration; and introduction of modern technology and organization of labor.

The key role in the improvement and expansion of services is, and will be, played by public enterprises and service organizations managed by the national committees as well as by production and housing cooperatives. The principal target in improving the services is the radical upgrading of their operations and a substantially higher share of their work for our population.

By the same token, the national committees need to take better advantage of opportunities stemming from the principles approved as long ago as the mid-1960's and to establish small workshops in residential areas, where tradesmen will be more flexible in providing various repairs and other services. Also, wherever feasible, the national committees in more communities should make available workrooms for rent and encourage work at home, such as sewing and repair of clothing and underwear.

Furthermore, the national committees should make more use of their authority to issue permits to citizens for afterwork moonlighting. The national committees were recently granted the authority to issue permits for services, previously reserved to housewives, retired and disabled persons and other workers; the main occupation will be to provide such services in sectors where there is no other feasible solution to remedy the existing situation, due to a workers' shortage.

All these measures along with the introduction of appropriate fiscal and tax regulations must aim at broader stimulation of people's interests and initiative and at utilization of local resources for an improvement of services. At the same time this must never bring foreign elements into our economy; this calls for more expeditious utilization of the available resources, which may contribute to better satisfaction of the needs of our population realistically, promptly and without major investment and capital.

When applying the principles for improving services for pay, a major role is played by the national committees, which are expected to upgrade services to a considerable degree. However, it is also the duty of appropriate central organs to approach the development of services with more determination and

responsibility. Territorial party organs must see to it that the approved principles are enforced correctly, imaginatively and vigorously and that their influence is enhanced and the work of party organizations in this sector improved.

It is desirable to apply principles similar to those regulating the development of services to other sectors, particularly in public dining, where much needs to be improved--the quality of meals, the standard and often also the honesty of the service, and the quality of the environment. However, this concerns the general standard of management and planning, where unnecessary heavyhandedness and rank bureaucracy predominate. It was therefore decided to introduce substantially more flexible methods of management in factory restaurants and cafeterias, based on scrupulous application of the khozrashchot system, which must upgrade the quality of public dining and increase profits as well. We expect our national committees to enforce modern, rational, economical organization of the restaurants, to expand self-service considerably, to increase cooperation among individual organization of types of public dining, including the opportunities for consumers' cooperatives, possibly also of the JZD [unified agricultural cooperatives].

The laws of the national councils on domestic commerce granted the national committees broad legal power and thus made them responsible for the general standard of supplies to our citizens and to commercial operations. Our rank-and-file citizens often have every reason to criticize commercial organizations and the national committees for the distribution of their retail network, for the quality of sales and for store schedules. The national committees must take full advantage of their legal rights and resolve such problems more dynamically. Nonetheless, many problems stem from tasks unfulfilled by the manufacturers and from the standard of operation in commercial organizations, which must be reminded that in order to satisfy our people's needs, they must demonstrate much more initiative and responsibility and cooperate more closely with the national committees.

Municipal and local national committees in particular must enforce more steadfastly and widely their control of commercial organizations and stores for supplies for the population; carefully supervise the standard of supplies, the quality and selection of goods; see to it that the citizens enjoy the opportunity of shopping after work; and expand shopping opportunities in large places of work. The program of civic aktiv for control of the quality and fairness of trade should be developed far more extensively.

We expect that a regular supply, particularly of fruit and vegetables, will be further improved by expanding markets where the producers and private growers sell their products directly to customers. In this respect the national committees must be more energetic in providing the necessary opportunities for programs of organizations of small livestock breeders and gardeners and similar public and interest organizations and other citizens; for that purpose they must make available suitable, otherwise unused lands. The frequently rigid approach of procurement and commercial organizations and national committees must change in order to bring the produce to the consumer as fast as possible.

The collection and recycling of secondary raw materials must not escape our attention. Although this important task was emphasized at the 16th CPCZ Congress, it is still frequently regarded disdainfully. Unlike in other countries, in the CSSR utilization of those raw materials is far below the necessary and feasible level. Public collection organized by the national committees is of vital importance in this situation. Contrary to adopted measures, the achievements thus far failed to meet the full potential. We are wasting about Kcs 1 billion annually. It is therefore desirable to step up our efforts and to enforce more flexible methods and policies of organization in this matter. Moreover, the decision calls for far more thorough organization on the part of the national committees, which must offer more lucrative technical and material conditions for the salvage program.

#### Environmental Protection

Comrades, free and universally accessible health care is among the greatest advantages that our socialist society offers to our citizens. Over the past 10 years expenditures for health services have doubled and in 1980 they exceeded Kcs 22 billion. The persistent attention of our socialist state, national committees and health service workers ensured our health care reaching a high standard all over our republic without exception, in cities as well as in the countryside.

Despite their incontestable success, our medical services still have untapped assets and must resolve with perseverance the chronic problems that they are facing. In some communities citizens have every right to complain about the excessively long wait for examination by medical specialists and often for treatment in the hospital. Furthermore, they object to the insensitivity toward the patients on the part of some medical workers, to problems with pharmaceutical supplies and to instances of bribery, which are injurious to the reputation of our health services and to the overwhelming majority of their employees, whose dedicated and immensely praiseworthy service to the people's health deserves the highest recognition.

Our national committees must demand that the institutes of national health offer better prophylactic, therapeutic and rehabilitation programs in order to raise even higher the standard of our health services. They must demand that the assets entrusted to them be managed well and that medical workers treat our citizens humanely. They must overcome narrow local interests in building a network of medical facilities, in deploying professional cadres and in procuring and using modern medical technology, which must be centralized primarily in specialized institutes.

Much will depend on the programs planned by the ministries of health, which are fully responsible for the expert management of their branches, for their scientific and technological standard and for guidance of the development of medical services. The organs of the ministries and national committees must pursue in close cooperation a single goal--the health of our people.

Our state spends enormous funds for social welfare. In its improvement, it is appropriate to copy initiative by the national committees, social and

interest organizations, enterprises and cooperatives by merging their capital and their forces for joint construction and possibly even for the joint operation of social, health, preschool and other such facilities.

When providing social welfare, municipal and local national committees in cooperation with citizens' councils and social and interest organizations should proceed vigorously and with initiative to aid families with many children, senior citizens and the disabled, wherever help is needed.

Plans for the social development of workers' collectives should be properly correlated with plans for territorial development. This calls for mutual, comradely cooperation among the national committees, economic organizations and trade-union organs in factories and enterprises, with the objective of improving working and living conditions of our working people and residents of towns and communities.

Environmental protection is increasing in importance among the programs of the national committees. Clean air and water conservation; protection of land, forests, scenery and nature; efficient recycling and harmless disposal of wastes; concern about a proper working environment; housing and recreation--indeed, those are vital issues for our generation and for generations to come.

Our society is spending considerable funds for environmental protection and design, above all for the improvement of living conditions of citizens in areas concentrating on coal mining and the development of power generation and in large industrial centers. The national committees deserve much credit for their accomplishments in beautification of towns and communities and for protection of the scenery and nature.

Nevertheless, the situation demands that they enforce their managing, control and coordinating authority with greater emphasis on the development and operation of their own economy as well as in relation to all industrial, agricultural and other such organizations in their territory. By the same token they must be consistent in enforcing societywide interests, insist on compliance with laws and regulations and strictly prosecute environmental violations.

At the same time it is the duty of the central state organs to demonstrate their concern about the environment, to provide preconditions for its protection in the state plan, to fulfill their adopted tasks diligently and to control their fulfillment in territorial districts.

Our citizens, youth and social and interest organizations deserve full support in their efforts to protect nature; to establish and maintain public parks, recreational areas and playgrounds for children; and to protect water from pollution. Their joint efforts may, and must, improve the environment even without exorbitant investment, resolve many acute problems and prevent damage frequently amounting to many millions.

An important factor in designing the environment involves services for the public, particularly removal of solid household refuse, cleaning and maintenance of local communications. Many national committees have accomplished much in this sector; however, much needs to be improved. This requires above all more well-advised planning for the development of individual sectors, better utilization of the machinery, its modernization and, if possible concentration. Production enterprises must play a far more important role in offering the required mechanization programs and in rendering services and repairs.

At the same time, environmental protection is an issue involving conservation of the sources of nutrition. The national committees in close cooperation with control organs must therefore protect agricultural lands more rigorously, avoid excessive concessions and resist more resolutely pressures for further unjustified expropriation of lands. By the same token they must guarantee that the land be released only if the investor recultivates at his own expenses at least an equal area of uncultivated land. The national committees, with agricultural and other enterprises, social and interest organizations and citizens, have the duty to assist in using every square meter of the land to the best possible advantage.

#### Solid Unity with the People

Comrades, a significant aspect of the unity of the national committees with our citizens is their mass political and educational work. Its actual effect on the thought and action of our citizens depends mostly on a close connection of educational programs with the solution of urgent economic, social and cultural tasks in a given territory and with the needs of its residents. Our citizens form their attitude to our society and socialism to a great extent according to the standards of the work of this or that national committee, according to the way it deals with the people, according to its concern about the development of their town or community and according to its care for the needs of the residents.

The fundamental mission of our national committees--the vital contact of their representatives and employees with the people--offers them ample opportunities to involve the citizens in honorable activity and to gain their respect for their achievements, to inspire their social involvement and to adopt a new, truly socialist attitude to their town or community and to their socialist fatherland. It is therefore the duty of the national committees to take good advantage of such opportunities, to enhance the patriotic and international sentiments of our people, to develop fraternal relations among our nations and nationalities and to strengthen the friendship, alliance and cooperation with the USSR and other countries of the socialist community.

The national committees must pay constant attention to the socialist education of our young generation, foster its attitudes to work and to social issues and provide opportunities for versatile cultural, sports, recreational and other activities and hobbies. A good job has been done by those national committees that give young people an opportunity to share as



much as possible in decisions on public affairs and to use their initiatives and sense for originality in the organs of national committees and their activists. Furthermore, this makes our young generation more responsible for the further development of our communities and towns and for the progress of our whole country.

The national committees participate significantly in implementing the educational and cultural program. Their task is to create, in cooperation with the ministries of education, the cadre, organizational and material opportunities for successful programs for all schools and institutions managed by the national committees.

The okres national committees must be more thorough in their reassessment of the adjustments in the elementary school network. All proposals pertaining to those issues must be discussed with local national committees; it is imperative that these committees learn the views of our citizens and that they weigh carefully all correlations concerning transportation, school dining facilities and afterschool care for children.

Our kraj national committees must pay special attention to revamping the apprentice school system and especially to the organizations of the network of vocational school on the secondary level. The ministries, enterprises and cooperatives along with the national committees should regard the training of young apprentices as one of their most important tasks and provide materials and cadre requirements for the proper operation of their schools.

In the development of the socialist life style, the national committees are using all media of culture to increasingly better advantage. For that purpose a broad spectrum of cultural and educational facilities is available to them. They are to provide adequately for the diverse needs of our working people and to contribute systematically to their education. The national committees must make good use of all social resources and assets also by coordinating the work of other cultural institutions in their area, particularly by integrating their plans for cultural and educational activities.

Furthermore, the national committees are responsible for all cultural events organized in their area. However, it is no secret that in terms of their artistic qualities some activities have an inferior standard, and their social usefulness is often negligible. Some have a negative impact. Therefore the national committees must be much more emphatic in applying their legal prerogative stemming from their right to issue permits and must support more systematically undertakings that enrich the life of their fellow citizens with genuine values and that promote a harmonious development of the personality of socialist man.

Councils for citizens' affairs that help create new socialist traditions deserve credit for their accomplishments. The national committees must offer all material preconditions necessary for their programs.

The protection of our cultural heritage has always figured among our nation's cultural traditions that we continue. Our socialist state is spending considerable funds to preserve our great cultural heritage. Nevertheless, the national committees and landmark preservation organizations must maintain and protect landmarks with a strict observation of economy and with the proper deliberation of the social advantages of our cultural heritage.

In addition, our national committees must promote further development of sports and physical education, coordinate the use of assets and create additional opportunities for their mass development primarily among our young people. An integral part of the work of our national committees involves the fulfillment of the military training of our population.

## II. Expanded Authority of Organs of People's Administration

Comrades, over the past years, especially during the 1970's, our country's life underwent major changes stemming from the rapid development of the economy and from extensive housing, public and industrial construction as well as from the dramatic rise of the living standard and from the changing life style of our people.

Among them were profound changes in the structure of our habitation. In 1960 more than 40 percent and in 1980 only 30 percent of citizens of our republic lived in communities of less than 2,000 residents. On the other hand, the share of residents in towns, which was about 50 percent as recently as in 1960, is nearly two-thirds.

In conjunction with the development of habitation, the management of the socio-economic development in individual areas and concurrently the function of the national committees must become more efficient. This calls for further steps in defining the task of individual echelons of the national committees, in consolidating the democratic foundations of their programs and in developing the methods and style of their work.

In terms of the need to build a developed socialist society, of the demand for further democratization of its administration and its closer contact with the people, the basic level of the system of the national committees--the national committees in towns and communities are of the first importance. The whole process of improving the system of the national committees must evolve from this factor. For that reason the 16th CPCZ Congress stressed in particular the task of consolidating the authority of the national committees in towns, central communities and residential settlements.

The progress of our towns over the past years has been remarkable. New central communities and new industrial centers were built. Our socialist society invested enormous capital in the construction and reconstruction of our towns.

A rapid process of concentrating our population in major cities and industrial centers brought many new problems and frequently conflicts. It imposes tremendous demands on the management of capital investment, heat, power and water supplies, better transportation and environmental protection, facilities needed for housing projects and their integration in the life of the towns, and restoration of urban centers.

Much has been done and we have gained valuable experience in dealing with these problems; however, many shortcomings and unresolved problems are still evident. In many towns, concerns about good construction, well-designed urban architecture and proper environmental planning are apparent at first sight, while in other communities the citizens have every right to complain about the shortcomings in the maintenance of the apartment and housing fund, about the operation of services and retail stores, municipal transportation and dirt. In the forefront appears also the need to develop in detail a concept of urban construction in accordance with the realistic potential of our society.

Along with the need for fundamental improvement of the standards of work and responsibility of the national committees in towns, the time has come to grant the national committees authority that will enable them to cope with their new tasks, to manage the functions of the municipal organism much more efficiently, to coordinate the operations of enterprises and organizations on their territory and to pool their assets, to attend to the affairs of the citizens to the fullest satisfaction--in brief, to give the people better opportunities for feeling contented.

In order to deal with these problems, the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and the government adopted fundamental decisions expanding the authority of municipal national committees. Their implementation will enhance the efficiency of the role of our towns in the socioeconomic and cultural development of our country. By the same token, municipal national committees will be allotted a broader field to expand their economy. They will be authorized to organize and manage organizations and facilities required for the needs of our citizens and our towns and to organize regular services for pay, maintenance of the housing and apartment fund, sanitation and transportation in towns. Wherever such programs are centralized inefficiently, the situation must be remedied and such issues returned to the competence of municipal national committees.

The adopted measures enable municipal national committees to proceed more vigorously with territorial planning, to express their definite views concerning the deployment of investments and production programs of factories and cooperatives so long as they are directly connected with satisfaction of the needs of the towns and their residents.

The administration and further development of centers of tourism and balneology, such as the High Tatras, the Krkonose Mountains, Karlovy Vary, Mariánské Lázně and Píestany, call for independent solutions on the part of the governments of our republics and pertinent kraj national committees.

The adopted principles for expanded authority of the national committees in towns must be firmly based on legislation and enforced no later than 1 January 1983.

The function of the national committees in settlements poses an especially relevant question for the development of our towns. Over the past years we built hundreds of new, modern settlements, where hundreds of thousands of families, particularly the young ones, are residing. For example, the settlements house more than one-third of the population of Prague, 51 percent of Bratislava, 43 percent of Kladno, 58 percent of Trnava and so on. For that reason we attribute so much importance to turning the settlements into a real home for their residents and stress smooth operation of the services and organization of social programs. These legitimate problems were reviewed by the 16th CPCZ Congress. Therefore, the national committees must pay more attention to the fulfillment of tasks by investment and construction organizations, plan the deployment and accessibility of services, improve the operation of retail stores, transportation, etc. Citizens' councils in settlements should further this work by promoting in their minidistricts order and cleanliness in and around the buildings; they have funds at their disposal for that purpose.

The governments of our republics should review at their earliest convenience the position and authority of the national committees in large municipal settlements that form independent units so as to resolve the problems of the settlements much more flexibly and efficiently, to establish closer contacts between the administration and the people and to eliminate more expeditiously shortcomings that are the target of legitimate criticism. Furthermore, the CPCZ Central Committee demands that the party officials and social and interest organizations pay due attention to, and are concerned about, the development of social life and political work in settlements.

The problems of urban development are especially densely concentrated in Prague, the capital city of the CSSR. Over the past 10 years we have witnessed the reconstruction and development of Prague, unprecedented in Prague's modern history. The construction of the metro, of new housing projects and of the Palace of Culture; the restoration and reconstruction of historic landmarks; the construction of modern communications systems, sports and other facilities serving the city residents are important steps turning Prague into a really modern socialist metropolis. That gives us every right to feel proud. Nevertheless, we realize that the construction and reconstruction of Prague, the economic development, new needs and demands, along with the changing life style of our people, go hand in hand with serious headaches and enormous problems facing the Prague citizens day after day. Here we must admit that despite all our efforts the results of the work by our national committees fell short of the demands that the municipal organism function smoothly and that the needs of our population be met.

This represents a whole gamut of pressing issues related to new construction projects, municipal transit, medical care, maintenance of the housing and apartment fund, the standard of services, municipal sanitation and urban environment.

With this in view, the current situation calls for reassessment of the efficiency of the measures adopted thus far, for consideration of expanded authority to be granted to the district and local national committees and for determination of the approaches to further development of our capital city and to better satisfaction of the needs of its residents. These questions will be included on the agenda when the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and the governments meet soon.

The expansion of Bratislava, the capital city of the SSR, over the recent years has been notable. To improve the quality of life of that city's residents, problems with municipal transit must be resolved, the settlements under construction must be finished, and the historic hub of the city must be preserved. The development and better quality of services, and in particular environmental protection demand special attention. In order to meet these tasks, more specific definition of the authority and responsibility granted to the national committees, including their relations to the suburbs, is called for.

#### Centers of Work and Life

Comrades, another vital problem in the development of the system of the national committees involves enhancement of the role of local national committees in communities. Over the years of building socialism, the life style and appearance of our communities have become hard to recognize. We exerted considerable efforts and invested enormous funds to overcome gradually the centuries-old differences between the town and the village. At the same time, it is becoming increasingly more evident that due to the historically developed, glaringly different styles of habitation in our country, considerations of economy and utilization prevent us from establishing schools and medical, cultural and other facilities in every community. For that reason, already during the Fifth and Sixth Five-Year Plans housing and public construction was concentrated in selected central communities. The numbers of residents in the smallest villages are gradually declining, particularly the working age residents have been leaving for central communities or towns.

The Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and the government approved the principles for improvement of the work of the national committees in central communities, which will soon become legally valid. Accordingly, the authority of the national committees in central communities will be expanded so as to provide better services and to deal with more problems in the life and development of our communities. A part of the agenda of the okres national committees as well as an appropriate part of their staff will be transferred to the national committees of central communities. Their rights regarding organizations managed centrally or by the national committees at higher levels and regarding cooperatives and other organizations have been expanded.

In relation to citizens, the objective is to achieve a situation where the national committee on the basic level deals with their affairs, whether on its own authority or in cooperation with a superior national committee or, as the case may be, with other agencies of the state administration.

It is our objective to turn central communities gradually into a base that provides and offers public services as well as services for a fee to the population of the entire territorial area and is a base for further development of social and cultural life. For that purpose the okres and kraj national committees must provide opportunities in cooperation with appropriate party organs and organizations.

It is important that in communities where local national committees ceased to function, civic initiative and social activity not be discouraged and that citizens' councils and social and interest organizations operate successfully.

The work and responsibility of the kraj and okres national committees in the development of the entire system of the national committees are gaining in importance. Their expanded authority and the transfer of some of their operations to the basic level make it possible and mandatory to enhance greatly the role of the kraj and okres national committees regarding management and control, their essential function in district planning, capital investment, mobilization and thorough exploitation of the resources and assets of their territorial units. Furthermore, in our situation more efficient coordination of the activities of the neighboring communities, towns and districts is of great value and in the interest of more economical use of their facilities, the collective solution of problems related to services, and the development of social and cultural programs and other issues where it is advantageous and useful to join forces and to coordinate procedures.

#### For More Efficient Fulfillment of Important Mission

Comrades, in the current socioeconomic development of our society, the broadening tasks of our national committees demand that the democratic character of their activities be intensified, the qualification of their professional management upgraded, their social control consolidated and the unity of national committees with our people strengthened. Therefore, in accordance with the decisions of the 16th CPCZ Congress concerning the development of our socialist state the emphasis is on the challenge to the elected organs--plena, councils, commissions and representatives--that they broaden their role in the entire management and organization of the national committees.

We cannot accept with resignation the fact that the tasks of elected organs are not being properly met in every national committee, that relevant issues are frequently decided by the apparatus or that only a few of them appear on the agenda of plenary sessions and are often treated in a formalistic manner.

Plenary sessions of national committees must deal with, and resolve, problems of fundamental importance to the life and work of our population. They must see to it that as many representatives, commissions and activists as possible

share in the planning of the meetings, that the representatives offer specific proposals from their electoral districts, that they scrupulously assess the achievements and search for the most effective methods to resolve the issues. Plenary meetings must achieve a distinctly businesslike character and be held with the broadest possible direct participation of the public, particularly in communities and towns. Moreover, our citizens must be better informed about the adopted measures, and the fulfillment of the decisions must be better organized and controlled.

For a stronger socialist democracy and for better satisfaction of the needs of our people, the cooperation of the national committees with social and interest organizations and with the organs of the National Front must continue. Ample experience in this endeavor exists. Good cooperation, primarily with the Revolutionary Trade-Union Movement, has produced a great number of suggestions concerning improvements for the operations of the national committees.

Social and interest organizations, especially ROH [Revolutionary Trade-Union Movement], SSM [Union of Socialist Youth], CSTV [Czechoslovak Physical Education] and CSSZ [Czechoslovak Union of Women], and the organs of the National Front should put their proposals on the agenda of the meetings of the national committees, express their views on the issues under discussion and participate more vigorously in shaping and implementing the economic, social and cultural policies of the national committees.

Along with other state organs, particularly with Public Security, the national committees must be much more effective in protecting the rights and legitimate interests of our citizens. Therefore, plenary sessions of the national committees, especially in communities and towns, must enforce their legal authority and charge Public Security with tasks to protect public order and must be consistent in supervising their fulfillment. They must act more resolutely against any displays of vandalism and hooliganism, against street crime and against any manifestations injurious to our society.

The management, decisionmaking and control activities of the councils of the national committees must become more flexible and operate more skillfully so as to consolidate the role of plenary sessions in order to enhance their responsibility before the general assemblies in planning the sessions and fulfilling their resolutions, to insist on collective decisionmaking and to submit to the general assemblies regular reports on their activities. On the other hand, it is imperative to upgrade their role in the management and control of the performance of the apparatus and organizations managed by the national committees and in coordinating the work and decisionmaking of individual sectors.

For the economic, social and cultural development of the districts, the councils must organize the cooperation of the national committees with centrally managed enterprises as well as with organizations associated with the National Front. The councils must provide more and better opportunities for the work of the commissions of the national committees, strive to amplify their initiative and their control functions. They must see to it that in

their activity the commissions proceed more consistently with the cooperation of our citizens and the experience gained in the control of the achievements of organizations managed by the national committees and other institutions serving the needs of our population.

The citizens' committees have done great work. Their program should further promote the participation of our citizens in public affairs and in the beautification of our villages and towns. The citizens' committees must be more helpful in the upkeep of our communities and towns, in social care for the sick and for senior citizens and in consolidation of public order and socialist coexistence. They have the right to present their suggestions to the councils and other organs of the municipal and local national committees, whose duty it is to study the suggestions of the citizens' councils and to inform them about appropriate decisions. The citizens' committees must closely cooperate with the representatives in order to fulfill their tasks. Only plenary sessions of the national committees and their councils have the authority to assign tasks to the citizens' committees.

The representatives of the national committees play a vital role in rendering the work of elected organs more efficient. The representative is an important political agent acting on behalf of his electorate in the organ of state power, called to express and to protect legitimate needs of his electors and link them with the interests of our society.

The initiative and the dedication of almost 200,000 representatives of the national committees are extremely responsible and important. For that reason, no one has the right to minimize them in any way, much less treat the representatives discourteously, as some employees of the apparatus of the national committees and officials of the management often do.

The decision by the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and by the governments concerning the expansion of their rights and consolidation of their position will undoubtedly encourage the work of the representatives and enhance their authority. They were granted, among other things, the right to request information from the representatives of state agencies, enterprises and organizations in their electoral district. In addition, they may forward to those agencies and institutions suggestions, reports and complaints submitted by the citizens and request information concerning the method of the solution of their problems.

The CPCZ Central Committee has the highest regard for the work of the representatives and of thousands of other activists of the national committees. It obligates the party organs and organizations and the communists in the National Front and in economic organizations to provide opportunities systematically for the activities of the representatives, to enhance their authority and to assist them effectively in the fulfillment of their tasks in the organs of the national committees and in their electoral districts.

The committees of people's control and initiative of other commissions and aktivs associated with the national committees, such as commissions in housing enterprises, housing commissions, citizens' control of commerce, etc.,



have a most important role in promoting democratic management and administration. The more diverse their activity, the broader the participation of the representatives, activists and citizens in the decisionmaking and control processes--the greater the trust of our people and the more effective the struggle against various abuses.

#### Flexibility in the Management and Decisionmaking Is Incompatible with Red Tape

Comrades, the apparatus of the national committees, which performs an important role in their work, must also heed the demands for high personal responsibility, a creative approach, thorough professional qualifications and knowledge of the issues. We highly value workers of the national committees who are fond of their work and aware of their enormous social responsibility. However, numerous, and in most cases justified, comments of our citizens testify that the work of the apparatus of the national committees also includes not rare instances of bureaucratism, procrastination and red tape, indifference, lack of responsibility, insensitivity and arrogance toward the people, as well as cases of graft.

To eradicate such abuses, the elected organs of the national committees on every level must step up their supervision and control over the performance of state administration, over the actions and conduct of the employees of the national committees and their facilities, draw conclusions and penalize the confirmed shortcomings. Moreover, the employees of the national committees must proceed with greater initiative, avoid the slapdash bureaucratic routine, fulfill their assignments with greater vision and responsibility and pay more attention to the suggestions and proposals submitted by our working people. Furthermore, our citizens have every right to demand that the apparatus organize its work more efficiently and that the contact of the citizens with the sectors of the national committees be made easier. The work of the apparatus of the national committees is not just a job but, above all, a mission. Klement Gottwald's words that "people are not for the administration, the administration is for the people" apply to the national committees even today.

Comrades, in his concluding address to the 4th session of the CPCZ Central Committee Comrade Gustav Husak stated, "What we need is a drastic change in the level and efficiency of all administrative work. This is the most important matter that applies to all of our party, from top to bottom, from the central committee to the basic organizations. Therefore, the federal government, the national governments, the ministries, the national committees, general directorates and enterprises must raise high the level of their managing and organizational work along the entire state and economic axis."

Consequently, the responsibility of the governments for the management of the national committees must be emphasized. In the spirit of the principles defined already by the program of the Kosice Government, we proceed from the premise that the national committees should be managed by the governments of the republics, which guide all activity of the national committees, implement uniform state policies in the comprehensive development of the krajs

as well as in matters concerning the development of individual branches managed by the national committees. As emphasized by the 16th CPCZ Congress, the government of the republics must be more efficient in integrating and coordinating the activities of the ministries and other central organs of the state administration with those of the national committees.

The principle of democratic centralism applies to the whole system of the national committees. Views have been expressed from time to time that our current problems could be resolved by a return to greater centralization. We do not agree with such opinions and tendencies. More effective solution of our problem depends on thorough application of the authority and initiative of the national committees and on higher authority of their basic sectors combined systematically with their greater responsibility.

At the same time the ministries and other central organs must demonstrate more responsibility for professional management and guidance in the development of all branches in the jurisdiction of the national committees. The national committees must fulfill their duties primarily by preparing the plan, budgets and concepts for the branches; by supervising the scientific and technological development; and by training the cadres. In cooperation with the national committees, the development in their sectors must be systematically analyzed and initiative proposals of measures for upgrading the level of management along the professional line must be submitted to the government.

The ministries of the interior of the CSR and SSR must achieve considerable improvement in their work. The governments must administer the national committees more efficiently. For that reason, their vital task must be their concern about the work of the national committees, local economy and services, housing economy, legislation and rationalization of the agencies in the state administration as well as thorough coordination of administrative regulations of the national committees. The statute, the organizational procedures, the structure, the deployment of cadres, the methods and style of the work of the ministries must be adapted accordingly. The ministries of the interior of the republics must fully concentrate their programs on the implementation of the decisions of the governments when fulfilling the decisions issued by the CPCZ Central Committee.

There is no lack of proof of the excessive administrative and bureaucratic work in the management of the national committees. The central organs as well as kraj and okres national committees require too many diverse, often redundant written reports and statements.

One of the main causes of this situation is the inordinate amount of announcements and instructions producing a great deal of paperwork, restricting the initiative of our people and often enough hampering sound progress.

The central organs of the state administration frequently issue directives with no consideration of their laborious execution. For example, when preparing their budgets, local and municipal national committees once

completed standard 2-page forms that anyone could understand. Today they must fill out 33 pages of data that even officials and the staff can hardly understand.

We encourage construction of private homes but the building proceedings require a whole series of rulings that the applicant must obtain before construction can start. The national committees introduced a stipulation that the citizens must obtain various permits and certificates, which delays for months or years the final decision concerning the building permit. Even the workers unloading railroad cars in winter cannot get a cup of hot tea without 11 paragraphs of regulations, which tell us, among other things, the definition of a protective beverage, the amount of its serving, the temperature of air at which it may be served, who may brew it, how to supervise the whole affair and how to enter it in the records of protective beverages.

It is absolutely imperative to change this entrenched routine but it will not be easy. The ministries and other central organs, the governments and legislative bodies must play a leading role. Without any further delay regulations must be considerably simplified and made more comprehensive, which is a task more urgent today than ever before. Furthermore, the process of the rationalization of state administration presupposes necessary adjustments in the internal relations of the sectors of the national committees; it must render the work of its apparatus more efficient and better organized and reduce the demands on administrative operations.

The 16th CPCZ Congress put considerable emphasis on the necessity to consolidate socialist authority, which must also be stressed in the activity of the national committees. The national committees on all levels may issue decisions on the rights and duties of organizations and citizens only in total harmony with the laws; they must seek solutions within the law that benefit most the citizen and the organization. For that reason it is unconscionable that violations of law, illegal decisions and unjustified procrastination are encountered in the practice of state administration.

The struggle to consolidate socialist authority and the struggle for efficient and objective administration and decisionmaking processes are among the most meaningful tasks in upgrading the performance of our national committees. Thus, we expect that the kraj and okres national committees will raise the standard of legal aid and supervise compliance with the law in the decisionmaking procedures of local and town national committees. The ministries and central organs of state administration must proceed with greater deliberation when issuing obligatory directives for the national committees and insist on their coordination, unity, lucidity and, particularly, strict observation of laws.

### III. Responsibility of the Communists Working in National Committees

Comrades, from the very inception of the national committees, the communist party was very much concerned about their activities because it sees in them one of the main pillars of our socialist system. The 14th, 15th and 16th

congresses of the CPCZ devoted considerable attention to their mission. Over the past years, during the preparations for today's session, the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee discussed the tasks in the development of the national committees and the application of the Set of Measures in their economic management. It dealt with the question of the ways the governments might improve the quality of the management of the national committees and discussed the principles for enhancing the efficiency of the national committees in towns and central communities, as well as the development of services to our population. The party's kraj, municipal, okres and district committees focused their concern on the work of the national committees. All this makes it possible on the threshold of the 1980's to outline for the national committees new vistas and tasks to resolve the economic, social and cultural development of our country and to provide for the needs of our people.

The communists--representatives, officials and employees by whose mediation our party fulfills its leading role--are concerned most of all about a better quality of the work of the national committees and about the further development of their activity. At the same time it must be emphasized that the better work of all national committees is the concern of the whole party; all its organs and organizations, which must follow it with unrelenting attention and systematically strengthen the cadres in this sector.

It is the duty of the party organs to provide better leadership to party representatives so that their activities contribute more to the training of communist representatives for the work of the organs of the national committees, for the exchange of views, for united approaches to the solution of relevant issues and for the development of their activity and operations among the electorate.

It is of essential importance to insist on better achievements of basic achievements of basic CPCZ organs in the apparatus of the national committees so that party members offer an example of an atmosphere of highly challenging work. We must deal above all with problems concerning higher political and professional qualifications of the officials of the national committees and their empathy with the needs of our people. Due attention must be paid to the problem of the different affiliation of communists in individual sectors of the national committees and to the relatively advanced age of CPCZ members. Proper implementation of the party's leading role obligates our party organs and organizations to be far more scrupulous when assessing the achievements of the national committees, to proceed from their own analyses and findings and on that basis to adopt decisions and make resolutions and recommendations.

Territorial party organs and organizations must be very attentive to the performance of the cadres in the sector of the national committees and insist that administrative functions be entrusted to politically involved, qualified workers whose accomplishments have demonstrated their ability. Substantially more advantageous opportunities must be made available for the training and proper placement of the young people, especially for sectors that require expertise and professional qualifications.

Occasionally we encounter cases where, instead of political administration, the party organs or party workers themselves directly intervene in the activity of the national committees or even dominate them. On the other hand, some official of the national committees are trying to hide behind the party organs, mostly in decisions involving unpopular measures. Such cases spawn "alibiism" and irresponsibility, and their consequences undercut the leading role and authority of our party, therefore, they must be eradicated once and for all.

Let us remember that all we are doing in the party work and in the programs of the national committees is done for our people, the criterion of all that work is the benefit that we have brought our people and improvement of their life. This realization must inspire the daily work of the officials and employees of the national committees who implement the decisions of the 16th CPCZ Congress.

Proceeding from the national traditions of our Czech and Slovak people, our communist party always creatively applied the stimulating example of the soviets and even in national committees endeavored to fulfill Lenin's thought that the soviets represent "a power accessible to all, acting right in front of the eyes of the masses, stemming directly from the masses as a direct and immediate organ of the masses of the people and of their will." Today, when a new stage in the activity of the soviets of people's deputies had begun with the adoption of a new constitution of the USSR, we are benefiting from their experience, which represents an abundant source of lessons for the work of our national committees.

Comrades, we are setting great and very challenging tasks before our national committees. Their implementation will depend largely on the governments of our republics, on the federal government and on legislative assemblies; however, the outcome is up to the national committees. The Central Committee of the CPCZ is convinced that all representatives and employees of our national committees will bring their initiative and distinctive contribution to the further development of the programs of our national committees and that the communists will be the first to meet with responsibility and determination their duty to translate into reality the stipulated decisions. Our party organs and organizations must help with distinction in this effort.

The history of the national committees, spanning almost 40 years, is indelibly etched in the consciousness of our people, who are participating with full awareness in the work for the present and for the future of our country. That is the power of our socialist democracy as well as the guarantee that the tasks charted by the 16th CPCZ Congress will be crowned with success.

9004

CSO: 2400/214

INCREASED JURISDICTION OF NATIONAL COMMITTEES DISCUSSED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 May 82 p 1

[Editorial, unsigned: "Authority and Responsibility"]

[Text] In recent decades the entire life of our society has been going through profound changes. While as recently as 20 years ago almost half of our citizens lived in villages and towns less than 2,000 inhabitants, now fully two thirds of the population live in cities.

This pattern of settlement, which is an expression of significant social changes, has required an increase in the efficiency of national committee management at all levels. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, which has devoted systematic attention to the national committees from their very beginnings, emphasized at last year's 16th Party Congress the task of strengthening the authority of national committees in cities, suburban housing developments, and central villages.

Many of our cities have become in recent years extensive new focal points of settlement and industrial centers. This has brought a number of desirable elements into their life, but also more than a few tasks and problems in the area of capital investment, the assurance of heat, water and energy for the residents, the development of transportation, trade and services, and especially in the comprehensive outfitting of new suburban housing developments.

To resolve these problems the CPCZ Central Committee and government has adopted basic directives for an expansion of national committee authority. The purpose of these measures is to make it possible for representative organs better to utilize all economic and social conditions for the comprehensive development of cities and for the most multi-faceted possible satisfaction of the needs and interests of their inhabitants. The measures which have been adopted likewise create the conditions for city national committees to be able more efficiently than previously to influence territorial planning, to express themselves concerning the allocation of investment resources and concerning the activists of factories and organizations which are operating on their territory and which have a direct connection with the satisfaction of the needs of the city and its residents.

A number of important questions remain to be resolved concerning the position and authority of the national committees in the large city housing developments which form relatively independent units. These are mainly related to the concern that these developments not remain solely as bedroom communities for the large cities, but that a full-fledged public and social life develop within them, and that their administration be close to the people and that it much more consistently and flexibly resolve the problems and shortcomings which aggravate people's lives.

In recent years there has been a similar substantial strengthening in the role of local national committees in the villages, the appearance of which has likewise changed significantly in the years of socialist construction. Many smaller villages have, after careful preparation, merged into larger territorial and administrative units which provide more favorable conditions for the satisfaction of the needs of the rural population.

The recent 6th CPCZ Central Committee session approved principles for the activity of national committees in central villages. The Czech and Slovak national councils have discussed and approved a new law expanding the authority of national committees in these villages. The fundamental purpose of this modification is to make it possible for the needs and affairs of citizens to be handled by national committees at the lower levels and so that these committees may attend to the broadest possible range of issues on their own authority. This will certainly be welcomed by every person who has had to make often many trips to the okres city in order to resolve various routine questions.

All of the measures which have been implemented and prepared to strengthen the authority and thereby as well the important social function of our most broadly based representative committees pursue a single objective: the intensification, in accordance with the conclusions of the 16th CPCZ Congress, of the democratic nature of all their activities and the strengthening of their links with the citizenry. Last year's congress resolutions also emphasized that in accordance with the development of our socialist state an increased role will come to the fore in all national committee activities for their elected organs, namely plenary meetings, councils, commissions and other groups and, last but not least, of delegates as well.

It is no secret that the role of these organs has not been appreciated for a long time, to the detriment of the affairs of a number of national committees. Serious questions were decided by the staff and at times even by individual senior officials. This was comfortable for certain delegates, but many others justifiably felt that they were at times standing on the periphery of decisionmaking concerning basic questions of the life and development of villages. Subjectivism in managerial work which is not based on collective wisdom and experiences accumulated over a long period of time, also holds within itself more often than not the danger of making a superficial or a rushed decision.

Hand in hand, therefore, with the strengthening of the authority of local and city national committees there must also be an increase in the quality

of all of their managerial and organizational activity. With increased authority, there is also justifiably expected from elected organs and delegates greater accountability for the consistent implementation of communist party policy under the conditions of specific territorial units.

Elected organs should certainly never fritter away their energy and time on the discussion of inconsequential questions and problems. Issues which are of fundamental importance for the life and development of villages and cities should be included on national committee agendas only after careful and timely preparation assured by councils and national committee staffs. Care should be taken so that discussion of these issues not be attended by delegates weighted down with piles of indiscriminate written documentation, but armed with recommendations from commissions, citizen committees and from the residents of their electoral districts. It should likewise be a rule, as it already is in a number of cities and towns, that plenary meetings take place with the widest possible citizen participation. This, however, does not relieve the national committee of the responsibility for acquainting the remaining citizens with the results of its discussions through the medium of citizen committees and to assure more thorough control of the adopted resolutions.

An important precondition for a systematic strengthening of the links between national committees and citizens is the conscientious development of their cooperation with social and special interest organizations of the National Front. Here as well, it is possible to rely on many valuable experiences. For instance, the annual socialist competitions and brigade activity of citizens would not be conceivable without the initiative-taking participation of National Front organizations.

However, there are also areas which can be improved. For instance, it is not yet common practice for National Front organs and their associated organizations to place their proposals and comments on the agendas of national committees, or regularly to take up a position on questions under discussion. This is, however, an important precondition for their participation in the systematic administration of public affairs, in the creation and control of measures and tasks impinging on the lives of all citizens.

It is equally important that the elected organs of the national committees develop an ever broader and completed informal cooperation with centrally managed enterprises and organizations in the interest of the purposeful economic, social and cultural development of the territorial units in which they operate. Here as well, in addition to a number of valuable results and experiences, there are as yet more than a few areas which can be improved.

As the entire course of the recent 6th CPCZ Central Committee session indicated during its discussions of measures to strengthen the authority of the elected organs of the national committees, these measures may not be implemented on a one-time basis, nor over a short time schedule. In many instances, moreover, such an approach would smack of superficiality.



Nor is it possible, however, to proceed in the implementation of these tasks after they have received their final form in the modification of the legal code. Strengthening the authority of our representative organs presupposes significant changes in the style and technique of their activities on the behalf of the citizens, who the national committees are supposed to serve in their daily work. On the contrary, it is necessary to proceed with these changes immediately and in the manner required by the new, more rigorous demands on the work of all representative committees.

During this process, much will depend on the responsible work of party groups of delegates and on the CPCZ basic organizations functioning within the national committees. Party-oriented groups may no longer be satisfied, as has sometimes happened with deeply ingrained practice, with being aware only from time to time of previously adopted resolutions or decisions.

Their irreplaceable task is none other than to evaluate openly and responsibly the degree and consistency with which, under the conditions of activity of individual national committees, the principles adopted by the 6th CPCZ Central Committee session are being implemented. They are to determine whether the necessary material, financial and personnel measures, the necessary forms and techniques of work which are a precondition for the successful fulfillment of party policy in such crucial areas as state administration are being chosen and implemented in a timely manner and to the requisite extent.

This requires a complete turnaround in a sometimes deeply ingrained approach: instead of the passive acceptance of occasionally even less than important information, what is necessary is the discussion and submission of fundamental proposals for improving the quality of national committee work, and of its organs and staff. Instead of an evaluation of the work of delegate-communists by staff employees, there should be an evaluation of how the often numerous staff of national committees contributes through its work to the fulfillment of the principles outlined by the highest party and state organs, how they create the conditions for the successful activity of the elected organs, for delegates and groups and how they carry out their decisions.

The basic party organizations functioning within national committees are facing similar responsibilities. Whether they will make use of the potential inherent in their increased authority by adopting a responsible approach to all the tasks entrusted to them will depend on their purposeful influence on communists and through them on other employees, activists and citizens.

9276

CSO: 2400/261

TREATMENT OF PRUSSIAN HISTORY IN GDR, FRG ANALYZED

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 22 May 82 p 9

['Topic of the Day' feature article by Prof Dr Michael Stuermer, Erlangen University: "To Whom Does the German History Belong?--National-Political Profile in East Berlin." For various references to Dr Ingrid Mittenzwei's Frederick II biography (cited in this discussion) and to other items on GDR historiography on Prussia see translations of an East Berlin SONNTAG article and a Magdeburg VOLKSSTIMME article, published under the heading, "'Objective' Treatment of Prussian History Emphasized," in JPRS 79401, 9 Nov 81, No 1939 of this series, pp 7-13]

[Text] The Germans have found a common point of reference concerning the question about their own heritage. It is Prussia. Looking in the mirror of the Prussian condition, which was left to the divided country, the Germans last year came across the question concerning citizens virtues, the state and its central European location. Nevertheless, the following sentence written by Friedrich Sieburg, novelist and essayist, is still in effect: "Germany is standing at the wailing wall--no Jerusalem will come back to life this way." The partition is reflected in an increased consciousness of danger, the more the arms buildup and the state of siege in Poland are reducing the substance of the policy of detente. Current frictions within the Western Alliance and, as far as opposing interests, technology and scarce energy are concerned, also within the Eastern camp memories of a broken house and the continuing separation of its inhabitants are increasing. The ambiguous trends of neutralism are moving toward a composite formula in the new nationalism of the Left, which is endangering the core of the Atlantic Alliance and surrendering the security of the West.

Prussian Renaissance?

A Prussian renaissance is not in sight: That must be kept in mind for the FRG as well as for the Eastern part of Germany. The issue is something else, something current, and Prussia is nothing more than a symbol, a provocation for reflection and a claim to the history, which for such a long time was something that they had had in common, and if it were up to the new German nationalism, it is something that should again be held in common. Because whoever has the history, possibly will also have the future. The GDR, which is taking possession of Prussia's history, could appropriate for itself quite a few other things, and yet it would not be considered a violation of the rights of a foreign country.

That is the way it is, whoever determines ideas and thoughts is also the one who has power over the people. Not deeds are moving people but the words about the deeds. These thoughts expressed by a Greek philosopher 2000 years ago are the law which during the epoch of the ideological civil war will decide on victory and defeat.

The question concerning identity, history and future was and is the driving force behind the attempt to claim Prussia and to determine the essential component of German history for almost 250 years, the absence of which is causing more trouble for the European situation than the existence of Prussia did. Prussia's legacy to German history is as extensive as it is disputed. Hagen Schulze, who teaches contemporary history at the Free University in West Berlin--he wrote the biography of a great Prussian labor leader: "Otto Braun oder Preussens demokratische Sendung" [Otto Braun or Prussia's Democratic Mission]--pointed out not too long ago that the search for Prussia is a "political issue of the first degree." At the same time, the historian Ingrid Mittenzwei, who is riding high in the hierarchy of GDR history--she wrote the biography of a great Prussian king: "Friedrich II"--made the statement that the important thing in this issue is the "ideological class struggle."

#### Interpretation of History as Politics

Is it also a matter of history? More important, no doubt, is politics, the national claim to sole representation and, as far as the GDR is concerned, its "socialist understanding of heritage." The transformation, however, is remarkable. For a long time the GDR interpreted literally the resolution No 46 of the Allied Control Council--adopted in 1947--concerning the final dissolution of Prussia, and it indicated that it could not find anything in the abolished state other than "oppression of its own people and the conquest of other states" (school history textbook "History 7") and whose turning away from history was legitimate for a revolution from above that despised people: When it says Prussia, the GDR means the entire Germany history. The closer one gets to the party leadership, the more thought is being put into it, not in the service, however, of sciences devoid of value but for a very new and simultaneously old national concept.

Its contour is emerging behind the change of the concept of history since 1978, and to date only Dr Helmut Kohl, opposition leader in the German Bundestag, has accepted the inherent challenge. The time belongs to the past, when the SED eradicated the concept of Germany; a "consistent appropriation of Germany's national history by the GDR" is taking place, "it is concerned with the entire German past."

To come to a point with respect to the thesis: In the process Prussia is nothing more than the strategic sector of a concept of history, which is about to tear down the confines of the self-erected ideological cage of 30 years. It wants the entire German past and its entire interpretation through history and--it is being said candidly and openly--it means all of Germany.

The debate about the German history actually concerns the German nation. Since it is divided, however, and since this division represents a piece of world balance that goes far beyond Central Europe, the question about Prussia, Germany and its history deserves the attention of its neighbors because it supercedes the limited historical interest. Where is the FRG headed: Karl Jasper's old question will have to find an answer also from this viewpoint.

#### Loss of History in West Germany

Following a brief boom of a humanistic revival--which, among other things, shaped Hesse's constitution of 1946 and its pathos of history which not long ago was exhorted by Hesse's State High Court--and the discovery of a liberal-democratic dreamland, the year of 1848, a loss of history set in in West Germany, which is still being felt. Theodor W. Adorno put it this way: Memory, time and history were liquidated as irrational remnants. Did German history not lead to Hitler? What could it teach other than that nothing must be repeated. The future seems only wholesome to the degree to which it rejected everything in the past. Between the progressive vision of the beautiful new world and the conservative fascination through efficiency and technocracy, something set in that had been deplored earlier and inconclusively, a "loss of history" (A. Heuss). The fewer historical memories, the better. All beautiful things belonged to the future, all the ugly things to the past.

In the FRG, history found refuge in the feuilleton. In the curriculum of SPD-governed Laender, the subject was at best tolerated, most of the time, however, it was not the case. In the GDR, on the other hand, history remained a state secret and belongs to the sword. Doubters are doing penance in Bautzen II. "Forward to a socialist Germany!" Walter Ulbricht's paper pathos of 1947 is still in effect, and history never lost the "character of the unrestrained self-praise of the state" (E. Nolte). The details, however, were subject to changes, internal shifts within the East bloc, the relationship with the hated, admired FRG and the growing self-confidence of the second Germany which wants to become the first and only one.

#### GDR: Partiality and Identity

The "storm on the fortress of science," between 1948 and 1952, the late phase of Stalinism, was followed by the settlement of the principle of individuality, the principle of understanding and the reference to the state of classical historicism. In the meantime the young National People's Army borrowed from Scharnhorst and the SED from "Tradition," the left wing of the German labor movement. History, the question of truth suspended, became the administration of knowledge of the rulers and marking the party line. Peaceful coexistence in world politics, forced through the accessibility of both superpowers to nuclear weapons, meant an intensification of the ideological battle. The principle of partiality retouched, cut off, selected and put together for the SED a rising line of Germany history, thinly punctuated by uprisings and revolts. The ugly remainder, which was quite extensive, was shoved toward the FRG without any regrets. In 1971 a theoretical essay caught attention. It was written by Ernst Engelberg, the grand old man of GDR history. He was feeling out the chance of a Marxist-Leninist "historicism."

Since 1978, however, signs in East Berlin have been increasing that Prussia's history also contained things other than "oppression and conquest." The SED is consistently formulating a total claim to the German history, indeed, a claim to sole representation. For the socialist subjects there was soon occasion for amazement. In the fall of 1978, five segments of a historical instructional program on Prussia's reform period between 1806 and 1813 was broadcast over television, and the actors represented well-known names in Prussian history. When addressing one another, they used names like Stein, Scharnhorst and Clausewitz, they wanted a revolution from above and praised the Russians as liberators. The fact that NEUES DEUTSCHLAND first criticized the series sharply, recommending that it be banned immediately, and that only a short time later it received considerable praise, is an indication of the existing uncertainty and the dispute.

#### The New Line Since 1978: National History and Total Germany

Then a respectable book by Ingrid Mittenzwei was published on a Prussian king whom Erich Honecker called the "Great," when he commented on "current political questions" in the summer of 1980. Since then the king, cast in bronze--a monumental statue--140 years ago by Rauch, is again riding on "Unter den Linden," between Schinkel's guardhouse and Knobelsdorff's carefully restored opera house. But the old horseman will miss the castle, Schlueter's powerful royal building, an immense structure which represented the claim of the House of Brandenburg to be something in the Reich: until the SED razed to the ground the burned-out piece of art, the walls of which were still standing strong.

In 1975 Thomas Muentzer was celebrated as the ancestor and prophet who wanted to give power to the common man during the German Peasants' War 450 years ago. In 1983, however, Dr Martin Luther will be celebrated even more; he challenged the princes to make an end to the bloody nonsense. The first secretary of the state party is the head of the festival committee. Because Luther is at the beginning of that German national culture which the GDR intends to inherit. In 1980 Carl von Clausewitz was celebrated with a selection of his works and an officer's guard at his grave. In Saxony the inventor of porcelain will be glorified this year and August the Strong, Saxony's elector, will also be remembered a little bit.

Since 1978 there has been one program essay after the other, not in dry prose as had been the case previously but to explain the new line to doubting leading functionaries, like Eduard Norden. In the FORUM of the party youth, Frau Ingrid Mittenzwei developed insights into "the two faces of Prussia": For a long time the view had been distorted because of the necessary polemics between the "revolutionary labor movement" and the "reactionary Prussianism." It is all over: "Also in this respect" the important thing is to enter into the inheritance. In 1979 the authoritative interpretation followed. In the June edition of the periodical EINHEIT, the leading ideological organ of the SED, the precursors of the GDR history demanded that Prussia's "positive-progressive aspects" should not be negated. A danger was threatening from the West, because "flexible bourgeois historians, particularly those oriented toward social and cultural history" were developing a different picture of Prussia, and it goes without saying that the purpose was none other than "to justify the current imperialist system of the FRG." Haffner's long

essay, "Prussia Without Legend," made the best-seller list in the West. When the state library of the Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation was dedicated, the FRG president praised the constitutional state which Prussia had always been. And the Prussian exhibit in the old Gropius building near the wall was being put together. There were things about Prussia that were unacceptable. But "our understanding of the heritage is different"--according to the EINHEIT--is oriented toward comprehending, preserving and cultivating the "historically developed, positive historical values."

#### 'Socialist German Nation'

And that is what happened. Some of the scarce investment funds were made available for the care of monuments. On the market square of Gransee the Queen Luise monument--Fontane readers will remember it--was polished for the Schinkel year. Right now the monument of Prince Louis Ferdinand near Saalfeld, where he died for Prussia in 1806, is being restored with great care. The castle of Rheinsberg in Mark Brandenburg is gleaming in the rococo splendor of Frederick II.

But the objective is not the care of monuments and historical seminar work but politics. It is aiming beyond Prussia, at all of Germany. Walther Schmidt, director of the Institute for the History of the Labor Movement at the SED Central Committee, top administrator of history and very close to state secrets, had already passed the stage of intimations last fall when he used a whole page in SONNTAG to point out that the history of the GDR did not begin in 1945 or 1949. The entire preceding period "of the first complete break with the reactionary past on German soil" is part of it. That is to say, history that goes back "to the times of original society." Removing the limits of time corresponds to removing the limits of space: Schmidt's extensive article was illustrated with a page from the Mendelsche Hausbuch of the Zwölfbrüder Foundation, Nuernberg, circa 1389. Even the upper, say exploiting classes can find redemption from their eternal historical damnation: All classes and levels of society are to be examined. "Socialism is the legitimate result of the entire process of history. It is a union of contradictions, the dialectic of which must be taken as a whole." In the GDR "the socialist German nation" developed, socialist in character, German by heritage. An "identity" must therefore be constructed, an interesting use of Western terminology, which is to comprise no less than "the entire German history." Through national consciousness, one may conclude, to a nation.

The GDR leadership got involved in an ambiguous game and the conclusion is still open. To date it has not been able to stop or decide the question of its citizens, what its thoughts are about the nation. It betrays little about its inclination, much, however, about the need for national legitimation of a regime, whose founding fathers wore Russian officer's coats. The repercussions are incalculable on the fabric of the Soviet empire. To date the SED has been the most compliant satellite of the hegemonic power, colorless in its national interests and committed to the world civil war. The new czars would not like it at all if the Germany question were to emerge at the western edge of the empire. Before long, the offensive national ideology of the GDR leadership will again be subjugated to imperial discipline. A

GDR without history and without face is one of the few safe items in the imperial calculation. A new national communism, particularly one that has been saturated as little as the German one, would be a nightmare for Moscow.

#### The Dilemma of the FRG: State Consciousness Or National Claim

Prussia, the memory of a devastated central Europe and the national question did not come up at an opportune moment for the FRG either. What other explanation could there be for the official silence on the most disputed of all questions that concerns the Germans and their place in Europe? It has been 30 years since the FRG was founded, and more than anything else it needs self-confidence and state consciousness and, in addition, an unequivocal Western definition of its security and its reason of state. Identity can only be established to the degree to which the distance to Bismarck's national state grows and the wounds of the division heal. But there is late news from Prussia and it contains the question about the state and about public affairs and even more about the identity and the German nation. Until today the quadrature of the circle has been to overcome the normative idea of the German national state without losing the consciousness of the nation. The ostpolitik, which began 12 years ago, has been more ambiguous than its opponents realized. Particularly for the Left, it was not so much the final chapter of a national history but, rather, it was a search for a new identity. It is not an insurmountable barrier for the German future, least at all for the GDR.

Prussia was born under the curse of its geography. Correcting the shape of Prussia was the constant hypothesis of European power politics, and it is difficult to place the continuing division of Germany at the end of the 20th century outside this correlation. The FRG will need to insist on the ethics of human and civil rights and a liberal political culture, something that was implied for Europe in the national concept of 1789 and 1848 and which is required by the Basic Law of 1949. Nevertheless, it will also require spirited discussions--which have been neglected for such a long time in favor of important and profitable transactions--on the history of the nation to survive such tensions.

#### End of the Postwar Period: Where Is the FRG Headed?

The epoch of the postwar period is nearing its end, its structures are aging. Its hopes are dying with its illusions. The question about the nation, however, is reemerging, creating perplexity, hope and fear of the future. Because the division of Germany remains a stability factor of the divided world. But the Germans are being overtaken by their own history. They are beginning to understand that the history that led to Hitler, also continued beyond him and will continue in the future. The basic principles of the European postwar order are being questioned through nationalism and neutralism of the Left. The established precepts which connect the future and the past, will have to be examined and newly confirmed. Because a public policy that ignores history will not survive in the consciousness of its citizens. The Germans are beginning to realize that their history contains more than one draft for the future. Some even remember that man does not live on bread alone.

8991

CSO: 2300/289

'NEPSZABADSAG' INTERVIEWS AFGHAN POLITBURO MEMBER

AU042113 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 2 Jun 82 p 3

[Interview with Dr Anahita Ratebzad, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan by Istvan Zalai-- in Budapest, date not given: "The Results Stem From Regaining Trust; Discussion With the President of the Afghan Women's Federation"]

[Text] Dr Anahita Ratebzad, member of the Politburo of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, has made a statement on the armed defense of the Afghan revolution, political consolidation and Kabul's initiatives toward ensuring tranquility in the area to Istvan Zalai, a member of our newspaper's staff. As president of the Afghan Women's Federation, Anahita Ratebzad, the first female doctor of her country, recently paid an official visit to Budapest.

[Question] More than 2 months have gone by since the national conference of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan. How do you appraise now the country's general conditions and the political and military situation?

[Answer] According to the party conference's analysis, our country is going through a difficult time. The revolutionary changes have elicited the resistance of reaction and imperialist forces, which are striving, through terror and force, to unleash a fratricidal war to regain their power. This appraisal remains valid, although the reason for being able to convene the conference was the fact that experiences have shown that the political-military consolidation was making progress and it was feasible to accelerate the process. Signals coming from the most remote corners of the country and the most diverse nationalities and tribes have demonstrated that support for the revolution is growing stronger and the influence of the rebels supported from abroad is subsiding.

In principle, the spring months should favor the rebels, because, with the winter receding, mountain roads and paths become negotiable again, allowing the movements and activity of the rebels to become brisker. However, if we compare this spring with the last, we can safely say that security has improved. The situation is now normal in provinces where there were clashes and uncertainty reigned a year ago.



[Question] To what do you attribute this?

[Answer] This is due to the strengthening and more effective conduct of our armed forces. Obviously, the fact that the counterrevolutionaries have switched to terrorist tactics, following the liquidation of their larger groups and internal bases, has also played a part. However, they did not obtain supporters through their assaults and assassinations, but have alienated people. For instance, it was hardly conceivable for the fact that the rebels, who act in the name of "defending Islam," have set mosques on fire and murdered mullahs who want a normal relationship with the government to remain without its impact. Thus, it is understandable that people believe them considerably less than previously.

Still, I think that the results of the political-military consolidation are due primarily to regaining political trust. This trust was there at the time of the April 1978 revolution, but it was lost almost completely in the Amin era, which was characterized by a despotism of a group expropriating the power and the party's slogans. Extremely hard work has been and--of course--is necessary to enable us to regain it, although there are definite signs that we are on the right path.

Were this not the case, then it would be hardly possible for the formation of a new type of armed forces, local self-defense groups, which--with central support, if needed--can ensure the defense of small individual areas or settlements from the rebels. We can also ascribe to this the fact that so many people, who had left following the fights and under the effect of the misleading propaganda of the rebels, have returned to the country. We can also mention here the fact that several tribes living along the Pakistani border have changed their attitude. In contrast to the previous period, they now prevent the penetration of armed rebels along the secret mountain paths in the areas where they live. Knowing the terrain, only they are able to do so.

[Question] What can this nascent trust be ascribed to?

[Answer] People have become aware of the fact that the party's program is serving their interests, that, truly, the government says what it thinks and does what it says. The land reform has entered a new phase. The peasants are given seeds and tools, and a fair apportionment of water, which is vital for farming, has been initiated.

Not a straight path, but a very circuitous trail leads to the tribes that live in the high mountains. However, whoever wants to climb the mountains has to find that trail. Extremely important is also the fact that respect for the Islamic religion is part of official government policy. The building of new mosques with government money is a sign of that. Of course, there is no doubt that--mainly because of historical backwardness--we are up against many problems. Together with the social reforms, extensive enlightening activity and patient explanation will be needed. It is easier to build new cities, roads and enterprises, but more difficult to change the mentality of people. To be able to proclaim such a program and

implement it in practice, we of course regard--on the basis of our previous bitter experiences--the strengthening of the party's ideological and organizational unity and unity in action as indispensable. That was precisely one of the main tasks of the party conference held 2 months ago.

[Question] You have mentioned the curbing of the rebels. Could that also mean a decline of their external support?

[Answer] No, external pressure, imperialist support for the counterrevolutionary groups has not diminished. Their Pakistani bases exist as before and their numbers have even increased, arms deliveries continue to arrive there and they are trying to enter Afghanistan from there. We have unequivocally signaled on several occasions to our neighbors, Pakistan and Iran, that, in the interests of the security of the area, we want a political solution, a negotiated settlement. In the event of the observation of the sovereignty of Afghanistan and an internationally guaranteed cessation of intervention from abroad, we would initiate negotiations about a withdrawal of the Soviet troops stationed in our country, troops that are helping to defend the revolution. We also told that to the UN representative who visited Kabul. There is a certain amount of progress; Afghan-Pakistani talks could begin in Geneva in the near future. We are interested in a fair settlement and not in maintaining tension.

CSO: 2500/289

POLAND

AMBASSADOR SUJKA, UN DISARMAMENT COMMITTEE REPRESENTATIVE INTERVIEWED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 May 82 p 6

[Interview with Bogumil Sujka, representative to UN Disarmament Committee by TRYBUNA LUDU staff writer; date and place not given]

[Text] In late April, the UN Disarmament Committee of 40 member countries concluded its spring session which focused largely on preparations for the UN Second Disarmament Special Session slated for June in New York City. A TRYBUNA LUDU correspondent interviewed Poland's representative to the Disarmament Committee, Ambassador Bogumil Sujka, Ph.D., about issues which were raised at the session.

[Question] What issues were discussed at the spring session of the Disarmament Committee? What was the atmosphere of the debate?

[Answer] The Committee agenda included, as usual, a complete ban on nuclear weapons tests; nuclear disarmament; a ban on production, storage, and use of new weapons of mass destruction, including nuclear weapons, a ban on chemical warfare; and a guarantee from nuclear super powers for countries without nuclear weapons. A new item on the agenda was a ban on military use of the space, recommended by the Soviet Union and supported by the most recent session of the UN General Assembly.

The final item on the Committee agenda was a proceedings report for the UN. The Committee proceedings began in an unusual atmosphere due to the events in Poland and their repercussions throughout the world.

Some delegations, especially from the United States and the NATO countries, sought to present the current political situation in the light of the developments in Poland as if this situation had rendered the disarmament talks impossible and created an unfavorable climate for such talks. Those countries maintained that the political climate reportedly makes disarmament impossible, and thus a lack of progress in disarmament talks complicates the political climate.

It must be said firmly and clearly that a great majority of the Committee members opposed that way of thinking. For example, neutral countries called the attitude of the Western delegations a push for a confrontation between

the West and the East, and they refused to participate in it. The neutral countries opposed the attempts to link up a political situation in any part of the globe with the proceedings of the Committee which has been established not to consider the issue of the world's political climate but to conduct specific disarmament negotiations. This attitude prevailed among the Committee members. The Committee then passed on to matter-of-fact and specific negotiations of the items on the agenda.

[Question] Has the session brought any progress in the negotiation process?

[Answer] The relatively short period of time was maximally utilized to bring about a progress. Unfortunately, the pace of the Committee proceedings, especially in terms of what was actually accomplished, left much to be desired. However, a thorough program of disarmament has been prepared, and it is ready to be presented during the Second Disarmament Session.

The second session will hear the Committee's report which objectively spells out the committee's accomplishments as well as those issues which could not be agreed upon, including an explanation why there was no consensus concerning those issues. Having familiarized itself with the problems plaguing the Committee, the session will be able to provide a new impulse for further negotiations and perhaps even a positive solution to some essential issues which have been an object of a controversy.

The preparations for the second session are formally under way in New York, but they are also a topic of informal talks in Geneva. The talks focus on ways to prevent the session from becoming a confrontation rather than a source of a new impulse for disarmament talks. It is difficult to foresee which tendency will eventually win. At any rate, it is expected that the second session will specifically deal with very complex questions. It is also expected that it will maintain the climate which dominated the first disarmament session in 1978.

[Question] What were the repercussions of the Soviet disarmament initiatives presented recently by Leonid Brezhnev?

[Answer] Leonid Brezhnev's recent disarmament proposal and its repercussions should be considered within the context of the policy of the new U.S. administration.

The focus of the United States is on building up its defense potential. By undertaking a production of the neutron bomb and chemical weapons and by increasing defense spending, the United States wants to usher in a new stage in the world's arms race. This is accompanied by propaganda rhetorics of the U.S. administration, initiated by the well-known speech of President Reagan last November. This propaganda rhetorics centers on strengthening the unity of the Western allies, which slackens when faced with the threat of a new stage in the arms race. Second, the propaganda rhetorics is directed towards neutralizing the increased push from the public opinion for disarmament.

After a certain period of near euphoria, brought about by the propaganda rhetorics among the Western allies, including the government circles, came a kind of sobering up. Therefore it is believed in Geneva that the new initiatives of the secretary general of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Leonid Brezhnev, came at the right moment, for they point to the dividing line between rhetorics and facts. They show that there can be no real dialogue about disarmament if it is not based on a recognition of facts. The essential element of that recognition includes a disarmament process occurring while security balance is maintained and the security of one of the parties involved is not in danger. A debate on the proposals has thus provided a more realistic view of the disarmament issues. Unlike the propaganda rhetorics, the proposals also provide a true forum for the discussion.

[Question] How do the diplomatic circles at the Geneva Palace of Nations view the development of the Polish situation?

[Answer] The events in Poland, mainly the introduction of martial law, were perceived in the United States as a pretext for an attempt to usher in a new stage in the global confrontation between capitalism and socialism. American statements have indicated that, according to the U.S. administration, social change in the world since World War II must be stopped to protect American interests. Hence the United States and the Western countries had such high hopes centered around the events in Poland since August 1980. They were convinced that the events would eventually lead to the crisis not only of the Polish economy but also of the Polish national structure. Hence they responded with fury when the introduction of martial law interrupted the gradual process of disintegration in Poland. The American delegation sought to use every international forum to meddle in Polish affairs. In Geneva, there were several occasions for just that.

Since the introduction of martial law, Geneva--apart from Madrid--was the major scene of psychological pressure exerted by the U.S. The pressure has since subsided, owing chiefly to the unequivocal recognition of the process of stabilization in Poland, and this very process speaks for itself. In Geneva, we now witness a decline of interest in Polish affairs. Our Western discussants return to those issues less often and more timidly than before. It must be stressed that this evolution is also a result of the decisive counteraction by the Polish foreign service.

9852

CSO: 2600/617

TEXT OF EXECUTIVE PROVISION TO TEACHER'S CHARTER PUBLISHED

Warsaw GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI in Polish No 9, 11 Apr 82 p 11

[Text] Teachers are entitled to an allowance for continuous school service, called a longevity allowance, in the amount of one percent of the basic salary, for each year of employment, payable monthly, beginning in the fourth year of employment, on condition that the allowance may not exceed 20 percent of the basic salary.

Teachers who have been employed for over 20 years are entitled to receive a longevity allowance as of 1 January 1982, and other teachers as of 1 September 1983.

The minister of education, in consultation with the minister of labor, wages and social affairs, defines specific cases of crediting for employment periods which entitle a person to receive a longevity allowance.

We print below the full text of the decree of the minister of education of 2 March 1982 pertaining to specific cases of crediting employment periods which entitle teachers to receive longevity allowances, and to the general principles governing the payment of allowances.

By virtue of Article 33, Paragraph 3, of the Law of 26 January 1982--Teacher's Charter (DZIENNIK USTAW [Legal Gazette] No 3, item 19), we decree as follows:

Section 1

1. Periods of continuous employment in a school (schools) are regarded as periods which entitle a teacher to a longevity allowance.

2. Periods mentioned in Paragraph 1 do not include periods of employment in a school (as well as periods of employment previous to employment in that school) in which the employment status:

--expired due to the teacher's leaving,

--was terminated by the school without notice, through the teacher's fault,

--was terminated by the teacher through a notice, with the exception of notice being given because of:

- a) the teacher's spouse having moved to another locality in connection with his (her) change of employment,
  - b) the teacher's having moved to another locality as a result of having contracted marriage with a person living in that locality,
  - c) having accepted employment in the place of residence or in its vicinity, provided that the teacher was previously employed in another locality or in a distant section of a large city and commuted to work.
3. In determining the periods of employment which are required in order to entitle a person to receive a longevity allowance, periods of a teacher's employment in which his workload was less than one-half of his contractual obligation are not counted.

#### Section 2

Periods of employment which entitle a person to receive a longevity allowance include also, on conditions defined in Section 1, periods of continuous employment in:

- 1) organs of school supervision,
- 2) in non-teaching positions in schools,
- 3) on the economic and administrative staffs of schools,
- 4) in subsidiary institutions of an educational and scientific character,
- 5) in other work places, as long as employment in them has been credited to the teacher for salary purposes as employment providing experience and qualifications which are useful in a teacher's work.

#### Section 3

Employment periods which entitle a person to receive a longevity allowance include also certain other periods, in conformity with norms defined in a separate order, and especially periods:

- 1) of employment in political and social organizations, and of leaves from professional work in connection with a teacher's election or appointment to government and social positions--in conformity with norms defined in Guideline No 8 of the Minister of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs of 17 June 1975 with regard to crediting periods of employment in political and social organizations, as well as leaves from professional work in connection with an employee's election or appointment to government and social positions, to periods of employment which entitle a person to receive a length-of-service

allowance (OFFICIAL GAZETTE of the Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs No 6, Item 19),

2) of employment in offices and other organizational units which are abolished in connection with a change in the administrative division of our country--in conformity with norms defined in Resolution No 91 of the Council of Ministers of 30 May 1975 with regard to employment of employees of abolished organizations (MONITOR POLSKI No 17, Item 111),

3) of employment in local organs of state administration--in conformity with norms defined in Guideline No 21 of the Minister of Labor, Wages, and Social Affairs of 1 December 1975 with regard to crediting periods of employment of certain employees in local organs of state administration to periods of employment which entitle these employees to receive longevity allowances and length-of-service awards.

4) of:

a) having done basic or periodical or professional military service--under conditions defined in regulations pertaining to such services,

b) having undergone student military training--in conformity with norms defined in regulations which pertain to such training,

c) having served in the Citizens' Militia--in conformity with the Law of 31 December 1959 pertaining to the service of members of the Citizens' Militia (a uniform text: DZIENNIK USTAW [Legal Gazette] of 1973, No 23, Item 136), applicable to members of the Citizens' Militia who were discharged from service after 1 January 1973, on condition that the period of employment in the first work place after discharge from service has been credited to a period which entitles a person to receive a longevity allowance for school employment,

5) of unemployment--regardless of length--if the teacher was reinstated in school employment,

6) of [World War II] combat duty and of periods spent in concentration camps--in conformity with norms defined in the Law of 23 October 1975 pertaining to further increase in benefits for veterans and former concentration camp prisoners (DZIENNIK USTAW [Legal Gazette] No 34, Item 186),

7) leaves without pay, granted in accordance with specific regulations which provide for crediting them to periods entitling a person to receive a longevity allowance.

#### Section 4

1. The continuity of employment is not interrupted by the following periods which, however, are not counted in the period of employment which makes a person eligible for a longevity allowance:



- 1) leaves without pay, except those mentioned in Section 3, Point 7,
  - 2) interruptions in the employment of women which do not exceed three years and which are caused by the need to take care of a child until the age of four, such interruptions having originated before 1 June 1968,
  - 3) receiving a disability pension or sickness pension, or receiving sickness benefits after the termination of the employment contract, including the three-month period after lapse of eligibility for these benefits,
  - 4) interruptions of employment for other causes, if the period of interruption did not exceed three months.
2. Employment interruption periods which are mentioned in paragraph 1, point 4, do not interrupt the continuity of employment, provided that the teacher resumed his school employment after these interruptions.

#### Section 5

Part-time teachers are eligible for a longevity allowance in the amount proportionate to their workload as resulting from their employment status.

#### Section 6

Longevity allowance is paid retroactively at the time of payment of salary:

- 1) beginning with the first day of a calendar month which follows the month in which a teacher became eligible for the allowance or for a higher rate of the allowance, if eligibility for the allowance occurred during the month,
- 2) for a given month, if eligibility for the allowance or for a higher rate of the allowance occurred on the first day of the month.

Longevity allowance is not paid for a month in which a teacher was absent even one day without an excuse.

9577

CSO: 2600/668

MYTHS, REALITIES, INADEQUACIES OF POLISH HIGHER EDUCATION DISCUSSED

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 28 May 82 p 3

[Article by Wojciech Kubicki]

[Text] So many misconceptions have already formed with regard to admission to higher studies and the problem of employment of college graduates that it is increasingly more difficult to separate myths in this area from views which are based on reality. One could call a super-myth the obstinately propagated opinion that allegedly too many people in Poland have been educated in colleges, while nobody defines precisely in proportion to what it is too many. Is it too many in proportion to Poland's population, economic potential and cultural aspirations, or perhaps in comparison with other countries, but if so--is it in relation to Bangladesh or rather France or USSR?

The truth is that we in Poland provide college education to slightly 10 percent of each age-group, including even those who study in extension or evening courses. Meanwhile, in countries with a slightly lower or slightly higher social achievement per one inhabitant, e.g., in USSR and GDR, 20-30 percent of each age group study in college, which is, on the average, exactly twice as many as in our country. A similar comparison can be made with France or FRG, where approximately 25 percent of each age group study in colleges under the resident day instruction system alone. Thus, in proportion to our own demographic and economic potential, and in comparison with other countries, comparisons with which are objectively justified, we educate in colleges too small a percentage of our young generation.

But, of course, there is no smoke without fire, and alarms about the alleged overproduction of educated people are in some way related to reality, though they are based mainly on erroneous interpretations of the latter.

Thus, while generally educating too few people, we educate them it seems, not in fields of specialization which are needed in our country at present. The so-called specialization structure of education at the college level (as well as at the middle vocational level, but this is a topic for a separate discussion) less than adequately reflects our country's economic, scientific, and social needs. Moreover, this structure is very stable, not to say inertial, and resists corrections. To be sure, changing it too

rashly under the influence of extemporaneously defined and often incorrectly estimated needs would be just as unprofitable and, in addition, could have a disastrous effect on the scientific life of the educational institutions themselves. And yet it is possible to achieve a golden mean between these two extremes. To do so is certainly more difficult than to automatically reduce, year after year, the number of those admitted to higher studies, a policy which has been systematically applied for six years now and which has aroused in our society an ever greater and more justified concern. Let us recall but a few figures: in 1975 nearly 72,000 persons were admitted to regular on-campus higher studies (this number does not include educational institutions under the Ministry of National Defense, Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Higher School of Social Sciences under the PZPR Central Committee, and also the Lublin Catholic University); thereafter, during the past year, the number of those admitted to higher studies decreased to approximately 60,000, and is to decrease still further during this year--according to what has been announced heretofore--by an additional 2,000 to 3,000. Where will this method of improving the social usefulness of higher education lead us?

Let us put aside, for the time being, until another occasion, a discussion of the problem who, on the basis of thorough research, should formulate--and how and when--predictions as to demand for specialists with degrees in specific fields of study. On the other hand, let us pay more attention to the fact that errors in the specialization structure of college-level education are only a partial result of actions by the administration of higher education and by those ministries which have direct or indirect influence on these matters. Indeed, it is necessary to face the truth and to ascertain that social pressure plays a considerable role here.

Of course, it would be splendid if this social pressure originated from a correct reflection of our country's needs in our social consciousness. Indeed, it often happens so; thus, for example, before our higher education had developed fields of specialization related to electronics and data processing--already under the influence of news from the world and of what one could call "social intuition," young people began to rush into these fields of specialization to such an extent that there were between ten and twenty candidates for each available space. The collapse of our economy and the stagnation of Polish electronics caused, to be sure, in the most recent period, a leveling of this tide and a virtual shortage of properly prepared candidates for admission to these fields of specialization; but, first, this is a transitory and unhealthy deformation of a healthy trend, and, second, this collapse was influenced to a considerable extent by the low level of teaching of mathematics and physics in secondary schools which does not encourage secondary school graduates to test their abilities in fields of specialization in which the results of examinations in these subjects determine their admission to and survival in higher studies. However, in instances of healthy trends occurring in our preference for fields of specialization which offer good opportunities for the future are relatively few. For example, there is a lack of strong emphasis on such specializations, as chemical processing of coal, nuclear power engineering, genetics, and

geophysics--without even mentioning mathematics--for which certainly there is a guaranteed widespread demand in Poland and in the whole world for the next several tens of years.

Simultaneously--and this is increasingly more distressing and harmful--certain fields of specialization continue to be fashionable, being based on illusions and myths which exist in our social consciousness.

In the postwar period a classical example of such a myth and the resulting fashion was music education, subsequently replaced by Mediterranean archeology. These examples are cited endlessly in every discussion about our young people's choice of fields of specialization, but so far these myths have probably never been analyzed thoroughly. There are also other fields of specialization where degree-holding graduates have no idea what to do. These fields have included, among other things, theater arts, but recently, as it turns out--how awful!--horticulture has also been added to them. So it is; the situation has become so bad that there are no jobs for horticulturists, and also for electronics specialists, veterinarians, or economists. A horticulturist still can, if he has great ingenuity, resourcefulness and courage, secure a piece of idle farmland from the State Land Fund, obtain credit, and build planters or even a greenhouse, which, as everybody knows, will shield him from poverty. But what kind of business is an economist to establish? Indeed, I know a certain economist who has taken over a state shoe store on a profit-sharing basis; but precisely this kind of thing is not a solution which could be regarded as the proper utilization of this man's qualifications by him and by society in general. Unless, within less than a score of years, this becomes a state-and-privately owned giant Bata shoe store; but, for various reasons, this is not likely to happen...

Thus, fashion and inertia often push our youth into those fields of study which are perhaps even attractive for the sake of studying but which condemn a person to a later frustration caused by a feeling of disappointment because of the impossibility of finding employment which would correspond to the obtained qualifications.

Here we fall into a trap which has been set by ourselves and by our humanitarian approach to problems of study, work, and life in general. Namely, we think, and this was even once set down in our laws, that the state must provide everybody with employment corresponding to his qualifications. On the other hand, however, this very state does not have, and probably will never have--fortunately--the right to compel a young citizen to major in a field which corresponds strictly to the future needs of our economy, culture, and educational system. A year ago we wrote that it is necessary to make some kind of decision and either to give up the guarantee of employment, which guarantee is often in fact of a purely formal nature and simply unreal, or else to limit strictly admission to fields of study which hold no job prospects for graduates; and that, on the other hand, it is necessary to give preference to fields which most likely will be in demand. But let us remember that progress of science and technology is often so astonishing

that it may render useless some profession which according to present prognoses ought to be given preference in the structure of higher studies.

Much could probably be accomplished in this matter through closer linkage or, let us say outright, financial dependence of higher educational institutions on local regional administration, groups of enterprises, the Polish Academy of Sciences, etc. Let us not delude ourselves, however, that some kinds of ideal solutions will be found; that, for example, it will be possible to quickly eradicate certain myths and fashions which are rooted very deeply in our social consciousness and, who knows, perhaps even in the gentry origin of the intelligentsia stratum in Poland as described by [Prof] Chalasinski, though the contemporary Polish intelligentsia is, after all, mostly of peasant origin. Moreover, we lament too much over these myths and difficulties; maybe we even dramatize too much the temporary lack of jobs for persons who graduated in certain fields of specialization. They say there are no jobs for architects, but in small towns the functions of county and municipal architects are performed as a rule by persons who lack higher or often even secondary education! And so, while dwelling on this example let us note that in this and in many other cases it is certainly not the lack of social need that prevents employment of these people but other circumstances such as the housing shortage, a faulty pay scale which discriminates against persons employed in the so-called countryside, etc.

And, independently of all that, it is probably necessary, through school and all the other means of mass communication, to try to convince our society that higher education is not simply a splendid intellectual adventure after which things will work out somehow, but that it is a preparatory stage which determines the entire adult life of a person; and that post-graduation life is mostly hard and at times can be downright brutal. We are now recalling various truths; let us, then, recall the one that states that the most important thing is to have a good profession. For those who aspire to be graduates of higher educational institutions, it means not so much a good profession as a good head.

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